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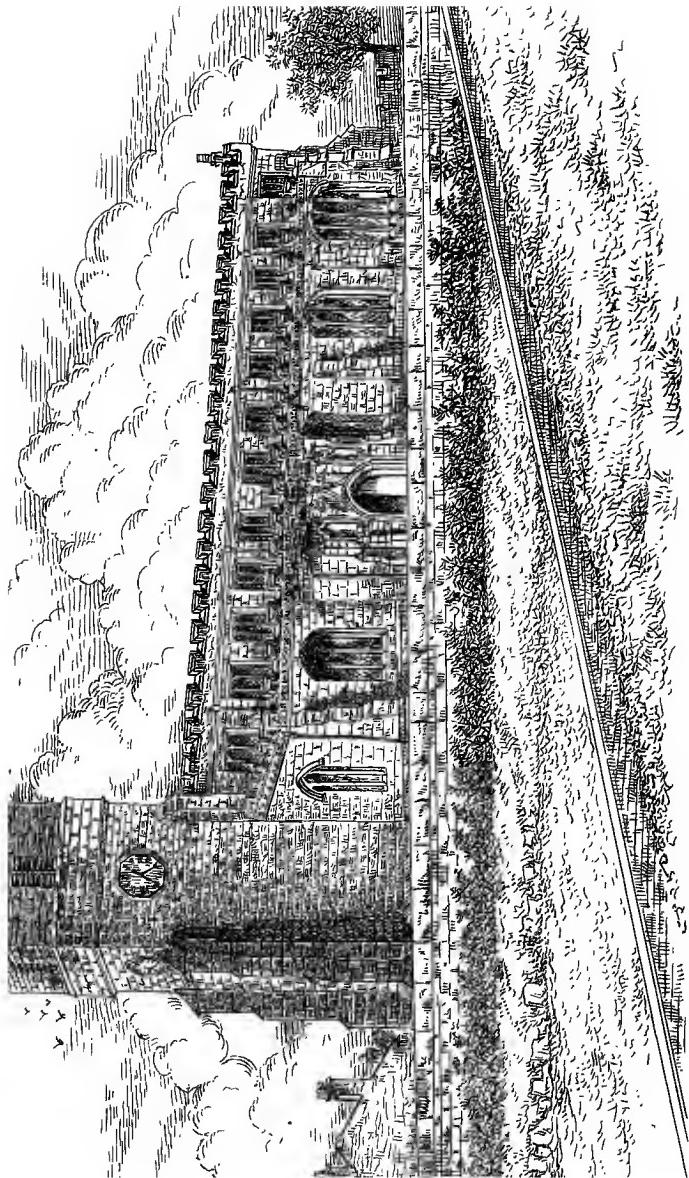
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The
Poems, etc.,
of
Richard James, B.D.



THE
POEMS
ETC.,
OF
RICHARD JAMES, B.D.
(1592—1638).

*Now for the first time collected and edited, with Introduction,
Notes and Illustrations and an Etching.*

BY THE
REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, LL.D. (EDIN.), F.S.A.,
ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

(ONE HUNDRED AND SIX COPIES.)

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1880.

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TO

WILLIAM ALEXANDER ABRAM, Esq.,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY; CORRESPONDING MEMBER
OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE;
AUTHOR OF 'A HISTORY OF BLACKBURN, TOWN
AND PARISH' (1 VOL. 1877), ETC. ETC. ETC.

I DEDICATE

THIS FIRST-MADE COLLECTION OF THE POEMS, ETC. OF

RICHARD JAMES, B.D.;

—WHOSE 'ITER LANCASTRENSE' ASSOCIATES HIM WITH LANCASHIRE—AS A
SLIGHT BUT HEART-FELT EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION OF HIS LABOURS
AS A BROTHER-ANTIQUARY AND AS A DEAR FRIEND OF
MANY YEARS NOW—WITH NO FEAR—FROM
HIM—OF THE HORATIAN GIRD
—“amphora capít
Institui: currente rotā cur urceus exit?” (A. P. 22.)

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.



PREFACE.

GEORGE DANIEL (4 vols. 4°. 1878), and of the MONAR-
CHIE OF MAN of SIR JOHN ELIOT (2 vols. 4°. 1879),—was
the prompt and sympathetic response to my
little circular of proposals for a collection of
the POEMS of RICHARD JAMES, from the
Subscribers to my reproduction of the POEMS
of GEORGE DANIEL (4 vols. 4°. 1878), and of the MONAR-
CHIE OF MAN of SIR JOHN ELIOT (2 vols. 4°. 1879),—was
a pleasant sanction of my wish and an equally gratifying
recognition of my work on these and others. My experi-
ence is, that while it is merely to litter the second-hand
book-shops and stalls with cheapened unopened copies, to
print or publish large editions of our elder literature—save
in very exceptional instances—there yet is invariably found,
ceteris paribus, a select constituency of genuine book-lovers
and book-students for every honest and capable Worker in
these fields.

It were absurd to look for very many readers of the
present Poems, &c., but placed as they will be in great
public libraries and in those of *bonâ fide* students of our
Literature—unquestionably increasing in number, both in
our own country and in America and Germany—I feel

pretty confident that a ‘choice few’ will turn to them with interest and gratitude.

As in the Introduction I state, the life-long work of RICHARD JAMES is his “*Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum.*” In my judgment it is obligatory on the University Press as well as on his Colleges (of Exeter and Corpus Christi) to see to it that this great historic book be not much longer left to the hazards of a single Manuscript : (“*Heu quantum fati parva tabella vehit.*”) Of late years there have been not a few masterly works on ABP. THOMAS A BECKET ; but none of their authors seems to have known of James’s MS. Doubtless its publication would provoke controversy ; for it is plain-spoken as against the glorification, almost beatification of BECKET that has come to be accepted. But surely it is due to the memory of a scholar ripe and good, and a keen and penetrative intellect such as RICHARD JAMES admittedly was, that his telling of the story and reading of ‘character’ and actions should be accessible. There are manifold evidences that he put his whole resources and force into the “*Decanonizatio* ;” and I shall cherish the hope of some thoroughly-furnished Oxford scholar undertaking its editing, annotation, and translation.

“ His faltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere.”—

As invariably, my endeavour has been to reproduce the *ipfissima verba* of the Author’s own text—mainly, holograph MS. In this I have been admirably helped by FREDERICK MADAN, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Brasenose

College. I also owe him thanks for kindly undertaking a transcript of the Notes to Occleve's poem and of the remarkable (prose) Letter, "Reasons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Personages," &c. I am further indebted for collations and kindred assistance to my friends the REV. W. E. BUCKLEY, M.A., Middleton Cheney, Banbury, and the Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher, M.A., Oxford. *In loco*, I name others who have rendered willing aid. It is of the pleasures of such researches and work as mine, that they often bring one into agreeable fellowship with erewhile strangers.

Anything else requiring to be said will be found in the Introduction and successive Notes and Illustrations. And so in sending forth another of my editorial tasks of love, I recall Matthew Arnold's 'Second Best':—

"Moderate tasks and moderate leisure,
Quiet living, strict-kept measure
Both in suffering and in pleasure—
 'Tis for this thy nature yearns.
But so many books thou readest,
But so many schemes thou breedest,
But so many wishes feedest,
 That thy poor head almost turns.
And (the world's so madly jangled,
Human things so fast entangled)
Nature's wish must now be strangled
 For that best which she discerns.
So it *must* be! yet, while leading
A strain'd life, while overfeeding,
Like the rest, his wit with reading,
 No small profit that man earns,

Who through all he meets can steer him,
Can reject what cannot clear him,
Cling to what can truly cheer him !

Who each day more surely learns
That an impulse, from the distance
Of his deepest, best existence,
To the words ‘Hope, Light, Persistence,’
Strongly stirs and truly burns !”

A. B. G.

Vestry, St. George's.

BLACKBURN, *January 25th, 1880.*



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INTRODUCTION.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL.

JN an every-day common book, “The Upper Ten Thousand” of Adam Bisset Thom (Routledge, 1875), which I chanced to look into a few minutes since, I find that JAMES is a living name to-day among ‘fair ladyes and brave men,’ more especially in arms and law. I have not thought it needful to inquire whether any of these are to be linked on to that remarkable group of scholars and men of genius, of which my present Worthy formed a junior member. Nor have I been able to discover—after some pains—whether the once popular Novelift (alas! a pinchbeck Scott), G. P. R. JAMES, or the faintly JOHN ANGELL JAMES—a Nonconformist divine still ‘speaking’ though dead, to a wide audience—belonged to the same family. But it were not hard to show that Englishmen bearing

the surname of JAMES have done England right good service in State and Church. Then, from over the Atlantic to-day, greets us HENRY JAMES, jun., with his fine English and quaint ways and love of the old Fatherland.

Good old THOMAS CORSER, M.A., "Vicar of Norton, Northamptonshire, and Perpetual Curate of Stand, Lancashire," and collector of an almost unique Library,—than allowing the scattering of which, MANCHESTER never did a more discreditable thing, seeing it might have been purchased within several thousands of pounds of its value and of what it actually fetched—in his pleasantly garrulous Introduction to the Chetham Society's 'Iter Lancastrense' (1845) has dilated with scholarly gusto on THOMAS JAMES—among other of his dignities first Keeper of the renowned Bodleian Library by direct appointment of its illustrious Founder Sir Thomas Bodley—and his prodigious erudition and anti-papal task-work, as had ANTHONY A-WOOD before him; also on his elder brother EDWARD JAMES, and another, FRANCIS JAMES—all the three less or more cultured and given to writing Latin verse. To WOOD and CORSER I must refer my Readers curious to know more of these and numerous other members of the tribe of James. Details on them here were somewhat irrelevant. I gladly, however, avail myself of the James lineage as taken "from the Visitation Book of the County of Hants, 1662, in the College of Arms, London," thus:¹—

¹ From the late Mr. Corser's "Iter Lancastrense," *ut supra*, p. v.

Passing other details¹ from this pedigree, it is seen that

¹ The following entries relating to the family of James, from the earlier Registers of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, for which he was indebted to the Rev. Joseph Maude, M.A., are given as an appendix by Mr. Corser, as before :—

Anno 1570.

Thomas fleming and Maria James mar. y^e 13 of februarii.

Anno 1578.

Joan the daughter of Markes James bur^d y^e 16 day of februarii.

Jane y^e daughter of Mr John James bap. y^e 17 of August.

Anno 1579.

Jane James bur. y^e 30 of Januarii.

Abraham y^e sonne of Markes James bap. y^e 25 of februarii.

Anno 1581.

Richard the sonne of Marke James bap. the 7 daye of Aprill.

Richard James bur. y^e 10 of June.

Jane y^e wife of Richard James bur. y^e 22 of June.

Anno 1582.

Dowsabell y^e daughter of Markes James bap. y^e 8 of Julii.

Dowsabell ye daughter of thomas fleming bap. y^e 18 of Julii.

Dowsabell fleming bur. y^e 22 of August.

Dowsabell James bur. y^e 8 of November.

Anno 1586.

Averen James y^e daughter of Markes James bap. y^e 12 of June. ~

Anno 1588.

Richard y^e sonne of Marke James bap. y^e 22 of March.

Anno 1589.

Thomas James bur. y^e 17 of June.

Anno 1593.~

Thomas the sonne of Richard Jeames bap. y^e 7 daye of September.

Anno 1594.

Mary the daughter of Andrew Jeames bap. y^e 5 of Januarii.

Joan the wife of Andrew Jeames bur. the 11 daye of Januarii.

It would seem that the registers are imperfect between 1589 and 1593; else the baptism-entry of our Richard would have appeared.

our RICHARD JAMES—nephew of DR. THOMAS JAMES, *ut ante*—was the third son of Andrew James, of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, who was himself third son of Richard James and Jane Annernon. It is also seen therein, that his mother was Dorothy, daughter of Philip Poore, of Durlington, in the county of Wilts.¹ By his age on matriculation at the University in 1608—as onward—which is stated as ‘16,’ we learn that he was born in 1592. Newport, his birthplace, had a well-reputed Grammar School;² and doubtless Master Richard was there initiated into learning. He must have found the school of his native town sufficient; for he remained at home

¹ The POORES were a very ancient and distinguished family. The ladies of this House have for centuries been famous for their beauty. HOARE (“Modern Wiltshire,” i. 582), besides curious lore on the ancestry, notices a MS. called “Heliconian Trifles, or the Ladies who performed male and female parts in the Private Theatricals, held in the Close of Sarum, 1777-82.” Among these were Miss Poore, who married General Michell, “and her beautiful and singularly distinguished sister, Miss Charlotte Poore.” It was thus with a good family Andrew James intermarried, and a ‘blue blood’ mother our Worthy had. Hoare, it may be added *in loco*, engraves a splendid Poore monument and inscription in Salisbury Cathedral—the founder of which was Richard Poore, B.A., of Durham, and a Herbert Poore was Bishop of Salisbury.—Hoare, i. 37, 38, 43, 728, &c. &c.

² Staunton, “Schools of England,” tells nothing of it. James’s intended Latin poem on his native island (‘Isle of Wight’) remained at his death a mere fragment. On examination it proved to be so merely introductory and so difficult of decipherment, as to compel our leaving it in its dusty MS. in the Bodleian.

until—as already stated—his sixteenth year. He matriculated as ‘son of a gentleman’ on 6th May, 1608, of Exeter College, Oxford.¹ The just-issued “*Registrum Collegii Exoniensis*” of the Rev. Charles William Boase, M.A.—a book of the fine elder type, almost obsolete in these days—enrolls him among its Worthies.² He did not remain long at Exeter, having migrated on a Scholarship to Corpus Christi College. His title-pages avouch how justly proud he was through life to designate himself of the renowned C. C. C. It was of no common advantage that from the outset young Richard was under the eyes of his learned uncle, DR. THOMAS JAMES. This remarkable man had a kind of magnetic influence in gathering around him capable fellow-workers in those ecclesiastical-theological researches and resulting controversies which, arid and exhausting to most, were to him inspiration and rapture. The MSS. of his nephew preserved in the Bodleian, attest that his earliest as his latest reading was of the twofold kind of his uncle, viz., among the Greek and Latin Fathers and Mediæval Historians and Manuscripts wherever accessible—with the one *motif* to expose the errors, superstitions, corruptions and impostures of the Papacy, in contrast with the Protestantism of the Reformation. To all appearance Dr. Thomas James literally killed himself in his devotion to collation of Popish

¹ “*Fortescue Family*,” i. 493, adduced in Boafe, *ut infra*.

² One vol. 1879 (privately printed: 200 copies only), index, p. 251, f. n.

texts of the Fathers in search of ‘corruptions’ positive and negative. Except WILLIAM CRASHAW,—father of gentle RICHARD CRASHAW the Poet,—I know no such intense and strenuous opponent of Popery, or one so thoroughly-furnished with every needed weapon in combating learned and wily and wary opponents. It moves one’s sympathy even at this late day, to find how chill and meagre was the response to his urgent appeals to the bishops and other dignitaries of his Church for material aid and co-operative help in transcribing, comparing, assorting, annotating and printing the prodigious materials that he had amassed or knew. But there was no reluctance to burn midnight oil with him, on the part of Master Richard. While still in his teens he must have been an equally eager searcher and transcriber with himself; while whatever else he slackened in, he never changed in his antagonism intellectually and Christianly to Popery. The likes and dislikes and passion of his uncle coloured and shaped his whole career. I am afraid that it was due to the same example and influence that throughout, his studies were desultory and excursive, scattered not concentrated, omnivorous rather than digestive; and so the outcome in both—vast toil with little or nothing solid to show, colossal stones but no building, enormous working but no finished work. For it must be conceded in respect of DR. THOMAS JAMES and of our RICHARD JAMES, that the books they gave to the world are the merest fragments set over-against the stupendous materials accumulated through long years, with well-nigh half as many nights of study as days. I do not know that in this

nineteenth century the type of evidence against Popery on which the Jameses toiled so consumingly is what is needed. Learning plays a slender part, on either side, in ‘convincing’ of error. None the less is it to be regretted that their learning was not utilized by the Church of England at the time, to the extent at least of enabling them to print their marvellous collections. How uniquely marvellous these were and what an armoury of defence and offence their intended folios would have been, let the correspondence of Dr. Thomas James with ARCHBISHOP USSHER alone witness.¹

Thus put into scholarly harness in almost the very beginning, Richard James was admitted to the degree of B.A. in 1611. He passed M.A. on January 24th, 1614 (12 Jac. I.)

On the 30th September, 1615, he was made a probationer fellow of his College of Corpus Christi. This appears always to have given him a home in his forest straits and wanderings. In 1618 his MSS. inform us that he had then made journeys into Wales and Scotland, including the Shetlands. In this year he proceeded to Greenland and Russia. It is to be lamented that among his missing Papers of those bequeathed to the Bodleian, are his Observations on the various countries visited by him. All that remains of his Travels are several note-books crammed

¹ Parr’s “Life of Abp. Ussher:” Elrington’s whole Works of Ussher, 17 vols. 8vo. (1847, *et seqq.*). Mr. Corser quotes from the former, pp. xiii.-xxi. See onward for a singular misprint, overlooked equally by Parr, Elrington, and Corser.

with Russian words and phrases and passing references in his Letters. It was like disappearing underground then to set off for Russia; and as the years (apparently) elapsed, rumours of the Traveller's death reached England. Among his poems one will be found headed "To Mr Anthony White whoe had made an elegye on my supposed death in Rusland." Several of his Latin poems were also written in Russia. It is noticeable how many famous Englishmen—*independent* of geographical travellers and scientific observers—have linked their names with Russia long before it was really 'open' to us. I name two. There is the still *quick* book of the many-gifted father of Phineas and Giles Fletcher, the Poet, the "Russe Commonwealth," and "Essay on some probable grounds that the present Tartars near the Caspian Sea, are the Posterity of the Ten Tribes of Israel," of DR. GILES FLETCHER.¹ Then there is that "Embassy" of Lord Carlisle with no less than ANDREW MARVELL for Secretary; whose State-papers revived by the present Writer came as so pleasant a surprise to the admirers of that illustrious man, variously-dowered poet and incomparable wit.² It will be remembered also that Milton in his old age wrote of "Moscovia."

It is nowhere recorded on what mission—other than self-improvement—James thus elected to visit so unattract-

¹ See my edition of his "Licia," &c., with Memorial-Introduction (Occasional Issues, 1876).

² See my collective edition of the complete Works in Verse and Prose of Andrew Marvell, 4 vols. 8vo., in Fuller, Worthies' Library.

tive a country as Ruffia must have been at the period ; nor when he returned. He is found, however, once more pursuing his old studies along with his uncle in Oxford, from (apparently) 1620-3. Of his attainments at these dates a glimpse is furnished in a letter from Dr. Thomas James to Ufsher (then Bishop of Meath) dated 28th January, 1623. It is a pathetic letter as well ; for it tells that his nephew was experiencing already Juvenal's *res angusta domi*. It is as follows :—

“ I have traced the steps afar off about *The Succession and Visiblity of the Church*, wherein your Lordship hath gone a far journey. I do but glean where you have reaped a plentiful harvest. Nevertheless if my poor and weak labours may any ways stead your Lordship, I would be glad to contribute my pains. I have collected as much as I can find in all likely Authors to this purpose printed ; and out of fundry Manuscripts, as Gascoigne, Canter, Mapes, P. de Vineis, Becket, Sarisburienfis, which have been diligently read over by a learned Kinsman of mine, who is at this present by my direction, writing Becket's Life ; wherein it shall be plainly shewed, both out of his own writings and those of his time, that he was not (as he is esteemed) an Arch-Saint, but an Arch-Rebel ; and that the Papists have been not a little deceived in him. This Kinsman of mine, as well as myself, shall be right glad to do any service to your Lordship in this kind. He is of strength, and well both able and learned to effectuate somewhat in this kind ; critically seen both in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, knowing well the languages both French,

Spanish, and Italian, immense and beyond all other men, especially in reading of the Manuscripts of an extraordinary style in penning, such a one as I dare ballance with any Priest or Jesuit in the world of his age, and such a one as I could wish your Lordship had about you; but *pau-pertas inimica bona est moribus*, and both fatherless and motherless, and almost, (but for myself,) I may say (the more is the pity) friendles.—*From Oxford, 28th Jan.
1623.*¹

In the words of Mr. Corser, “the deep interest and almost parental anxiety which the Writer of this letter took in the studies and advancement of his nephew, is evidenced from several letters written about the same period to the same learned Prelate.”² From these, brief extracts must now be given, as thus:—

“ Of my Cousin Mr. Rich. James (who remembereth himself most dutifully to your Lordship) I send a Taste or Essay of what may be done by him. I will say no more of him or it but this; That I know no man living more fit to be employed by your Lordship in this kind than himself; his Pains incredible, and his Zeal as great, and his Judgment in manuscripts such as I doubt not but your Lordship may use to the great benefit of the Church, and ease of your Lordship; may there be but some course taken that he may have *vicuum et vestitum* independant from any one. This if he may have from your Lordship,

¹ Parr’s “Life of Uſher,” as before, p. 303: Corser, p. xxxviii.

² “Iter Lane.” pp. xxxviii.-ix.

or by your Lordship's means, I know his deserts and willingness to deserve well of the Church.—*Oxon the 27th July, 1624.*" Again :—"My Cousin Rich. James desireth to have his Duty remembered to your Lordship, he hath reviewed and inlarged his Book of *Bochel's Decanonization*, a Book so nearly concerning Kingly Dignity, and so fully opening the History of those times, that I know not where a man shall read the like. I would he might have the happiness that your Lordship might see it, being now fair transcribed, that it might pass your Lordship's censure before it pass any further. And I am perswaded (over-weaning perhaps in love to my Cousin) that if his Majesty saw it, it would please him, having so many good pieces of antiquity in it ;—it is his, and shall be my cheifest study.—*Oxon., Feb. 8. n. y.*"¹

In the latter extract, for 'Bochel's Decanonization,' read 'Becket's Decanonization,'—this unfortunate misprint having, strange to say, been overlooked alike by Parr, El-rington, and Corser.

The MS.—a noble folio—of the "Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum" forms No. 1 of the numerous MSS. preserved in the Bodleian. It were presumptuous in me to pronounce judgment on this extraordinary work with the verdict upon it of one so capable as Dr. Thomas James. But I may be permitted to state that having read and re-read much of it, I stand amazed at the force of brain that has welded together learning so wide and deep and

¹ *Ibid.* p. xxxix. from Parr, as before.

exact, and thinking so intrepid as almost to be audacious, so penetrative and subtle and nevertheless common-sensed and healthy, and sympathies with truth and right and freedom so instinctive and articulate. The resources are simply such as might have been distributed over half-a-dozen scholars, and still left each by head and shoulders above ordinary men. There is width of vision united with depth—as of the sea's fulness, not of the stream's shallowness. There is first-hand familiarity with all the literature of his subject—even in the by-ways of it; for there is the gleam of the golden keys of many languages. There is exactest quotation and reference for all evidence adduced, for all positions maintained, for all conclusions arrived at. There is doubtless keenness of accusation as fearlessness of exposure; but the passion is pathetic and noble, and the informing impulse fealty to historic truth. There is now and again salt of wit, play of anecdotal humour and felicitous interweaving of quaint legend and snatch of verse. The book is massive but buoyant, philosophic yet shrewd, controversial nevertheless judicial. I venture to say that the University Press of Oxford should honour itself by rescuing from the hazard of a single manuscript this truly *Magnum opus*. Besides the finely-transcribed folio, there are volumes on volumes of collections of many years; all of which the coming Editor must sift and utilize. Many Lives of ARCHBISHOP BECKET have been written in our own time; but the real, hard facts of that chequered life will not be thoroughly known until the “Decanonizatio” is made available. *Totius autem in-*

*justitiae nulla capitalior est, quam eorum qui quum maxime fallunt, id agunt, ut viri boni esse videantur.*¹

From 1623 to 1629 he continued to work with his uncle, as to the last he fought to secure Commissioners to be appointed by Convocation and by Parliament “to collate the MSS. of the Fathers in all the Libraries of England with the foreign Popish editions, in order that the forgeries in the latter might be detected, and the views of the Roman Catholics in making interpolations defeated.”² To enliven these more arduous labours, I suppose, he was wont to throw off his Poems, more especially epigrams and *jeux-d'esprit*—“some of them addressed to his friends, others called forth by passing occurrences, or translations from any work that he was reading.”³ Nor was the nephew, any more than his erudite uncle, fancy-free in the “old old story” of love. Anthony a-Wood did not know it; but Dr. Thomas James wooed and won and married a ‘fair lady,’ to the chagrin of his bachelor-friend SIR THOMAS BODLEY. Alas! that there remains a piteous letter from the prematurely-aged and poverty-stricken scholar to “good” Sir Robert Cotton, “on y^e behalf of poore wyfe and [seven] children.”⁴ This additional element of responsibility and suffering, Richard James was spared—spite of himself. I

¹ The Master of the Rolls’ noble Series already includes Becket materials infinitely inferior to the “Decanonizatio.”

² Mr. Corser, as before, p. xxii.

³ *Ibid.* p. xliv.

⁴ Cottonian MSS. Julius C. iii. f. 183, quoted by Mr. Corser, as before, p. xxiii.

say spite of himself; for his Poems go to show that his bookish habits had not turned him into either monk or misanthrope; that he had fallen over head and ears in love (if the expressive vulgarism may be allowed) with a lady to whom he gave the Latin name of ‘Albina,’—veiling slightly thereby a Miss White (query sister or daughter of his friend Mr. Anthony White?)¹ He seems to have been conquered helplessly by his charming ‘Albina;’ but unfortunately the passion was not reciprocated. The verse-incense appears to have been acceptable enough. I opine that the explanation is to be found in a prior conquest of ‘Albina,’ inasmuch as she was speedily married to a MR. PHILIP WOODHOUSE. There can have been no quarrel, no bitter words or resentment on either side; for the Poems attest that James celebrated the “Anniversarie of Marriage of Mr. Philip Woodhouse.” Outside of Dean Donne’s love-poems, perhaps no odder celebration is to be met with in its explicit avowal that Mrs. Woodhouse was his old flame,

e.g.:

“ Now Sir, y^e sunne or earth hath circled rovnd
Since you were fairely to *my Mistris bound*
In holie spowfall rites.”

He had been present at, indeed, presumably performed the rites of marriage; for thus he continues:—

¹ See pp. 226-27. Curiously enough, in Colonel Chester’s “Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster” (1876), we have an entry of a Mary Woodhouse, d. of Sir Henry Woodhouse, Kt., of Warham, co. Norfolk, married after 1656 to Sir John James, Kt. (p. 192).

—“I then did praye
My blessing on you bothe. And from that daye
Till this, I heare of peace and love no breach.”

With all this, his severer studies were little intermitted. On 7th July, 1624, he was admitted to the degree of B.D. Shortly after he was employed along with PATRICK YOUNG, the Royal Librarian, by SELDEN, to assist that illustrious scholar and antiquary in his examination of the Arundel Marbles, which, collected by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, had been given to the University of Oxford by his grandson Henry, Duke of Norfolk. When Selden published his “*Marmora Arundeliana*,” in 1628, (4°), he acknowledges his obligations to James in the Preface, characterizing him as “*multijugæ doctrinæ studiique indefatigabilis vir Richardus Jamesius*.” It was about this time also—in 1625-6—that through his uncle Dr. Thomas James, our Worthy was introduced to SIR ROBERT COTTON. He was the very man to be entrusted with the classifying and arranging and cataloguing of the splendid library of books and MSS. which that renowned man had brought together. While engaged in this (not unpleasant) task-work, he was resident under Sir Robert’s roof, and became intimate with that brilliant circle of Englishmen of which the good knight was the centre—reviving, if not the hilarity of the BEN JONSON “Mermaid” and other gatherings, much of the intellectual gladiatorialship of those grand days. He came and went. While in the library he worked on cataloguing and transcribing and correspondence, wherever

any antique was heard of that might be added to the Master's ever-enlarging collection. While from home he was still on the outlook. Letters from him to Cotton survive to reveal to us the familiar and honourable terms on which they stood. I am pleased to be able to add here other two to those first printed by Mr. Corser. They give us insight to his occupations and literary and antiquarian intercourse. Unluckily they are undated. I take them in the order of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.

I. Not before printed (Julius c. iii. f. 212).

Deere Sir Rob: Cotton. I wish all health and cont[ent] to you, my Ladie and all your familie, to whome if I had any joye to bringe, no postillion should outspeede me. B[ut] my life and fortune haue in them to many sad occaſions to make my meere companie pleasing vnto friend[s]; wherefore for your owne sake you will kindly excuse m[e &] favour me where I rest alſo vnwillingly vnder a new [sic] that is exalted aboue his measure. yet I ſhall haue ft[ill] ynough to preferve my ſelf as I maye, and the Tant of his prerogative will erelong beare him vnder or ov[er] withoutt my helpe, except he take that ſobre courſe which of late I haue binne forced to bestowe on him [tru] ly. In S^r Kellam Digbyes buisnesſe I will not be negli[gent] and peradventure ſhall by that meanes gaine the b[ook] of Saint Friswide and other extravagant good peeces t[hat] are as yet outliers. So againe bleffing all my friends I reſt

Yours ever thanks

To my noble friend S^r
Robert Cotton
at his house by
Westminster
hall theſe

RICH: JAMES.

II. " To my noble friende S^r Robert Cotton at Westminster neere the Hall give these.

" 193. b. Deere S^r Rob. Cotton, I shalbe glad to heare from you concerning my late desire & your owne kinde promise for by our new Masters wicked pride and practise[,] forst I am to seeke somme favour abroade, & at leasure to contrive my discontent into this Epigramme

Det Deus aūpicijs proprijs ut vivēre possim

Morosophi imperijs ne crucier domini.

Det rectæ enactā rationi lege parentem,

Ne mihi sim imperijs sævior ipse meis.

Det mortem vt vitam naturæ munus habenti

Claudat nox faciles blanda sopore dies.

Quòd si non adeo visum det fata volenti

Ferre animo et cœlum suspicere vt patriam.

and deere S^r, so foone as I may sett warme, & have satisfied my self in somme fewe other readings, thether I purpos à previall ascent by earnest contemplation of Astronomye till the swallowe returnes and brings a fitter season for traueil. Doctor Tolson whoe is the chief man with M^r Allen desires his service may be commended vnto S^r Kenelme Digbye and doth promise this daye to effect the legall conveyance of y^e books vnto him, which the ould man promisd to performe the last night at his earnest entreatie. When it is donne, you shall haue farther notice, & I doe assure my self of their serious intention in this parte. In owne of my journeys aboute the territorie, which to deceive time & keepe my selfe in breath I make often, in the high way beyond Hedington, I haue found lately an excellent

petrified honnicombe, for which I dowbt not but *Ihon Tradescant* will most willingly exchange any of his books or coynes. So wifshing health to all bothe from my self and my *Lord Haughton* & his brother whoe kindly fownd me out in their passadge to y^e North, I rest

“ Your ever thanckful friend

“ Octob^r 25.”

“ RICH : JAMES.

III. “ 203. Deere S^r *Robert Cotton*, I can make no worthy exchange of your booke. wherefore I haue again paid the Carrier & sent him backe. pray lett goodman *Gibbs* call for him on Friday morninge & returne notice of y^e safe deliverie. If you will haue à faire mill shillinge & one of the braffe peeces which were made for *Queene Eliz: Irish warres*, I shall send them, besides M^r *Twine* hath à peece of silver of Henr. y^e fixt, as it seemes, with 3 crownes on the reverse. My *Cofin Elfing*'s man was yesterday in towne abought his Masters knighthood, aboute which heere is somme settinge of commissioners. Many things of antiquitie are mine in promise. if they comme, they shall soone be yours. I should gladly heare somme cheerefull newes of M^r *Selden* & S^r *Jhon Elyott*, & your selfe. Will the tide never turne? Then God send vs heaven at our last end. All my friends with you I beare in thanckfull memorie, & rest

“ Yours faithfully

“ Aprill 20.”

“ RICH JAMES.

“ To my Noble friend S^r *Robert Cotton* at his house by
Westminster Hall give theſe.”

IV. “217. Good Sr *Robert Cotton*, with the kinde futherance of Mr *Boswells* friends I haue allmost withoute drawinge bitt runne over the maine part of my buisinesse. Of which in good time you shall hear & see a perfect account, if you please first to lett me knowe whether Mr *Cotton* be at *London* or in the Countrie. So wiſhing allwayes to be preserved in the honour of your estimation & humbly kiffing the hands of you and your *Ladie* with many breef masses for your happinesse. Forsooth I rest

“Your faithfull and thanckfull Servant

“From Moody Hall”

“DICK IAMES.”

V. Not before printed (folio 219).

Sir Robert Cottēn. by the retурne of my kinde friends
For Holt to London, I willingly bid health vnto you
[and] your Companie. and so foone as I maye gaine any lea
[sure] y^e Bu^y of our Colledge accounts you shall receave
description of Erle Godwin out of Walter
little deere Franck againe in season and
ad If not I pray the maye. And . . .
practicke of my life, I am of so scarce vſe
ough much unfortunate. Yet my heartie
vnto them all young and ould multiplie health
about my skill or power of physicians and
But must be as they maye. And quickly wearie
inge more then ynough to little purpos, hidinge all
faults and fancies in the confidence of your goodnessse

Your thanckfull servant

DICK IAMES.

At this point it is no common pleasure to be able to print for the first time no fewer than other six English letters from James to Sir Robert Cotton. They are among

the Harleian MSS. (7002). Unfortunately—like the others—they are all undated. I give them in the order in which they occur in the volume of MSS. They are addressed (except one whose superscription is gone) “To my Noble friend Sir Robert Cotton at his house next Westminster Hall giue theise” (slightly varied in some). All furnish further pleasant evidence of the familiar and friendly footing on which James stood toward his patron-friend.. The passing mention of Heywood recalls the visit celebrated in *Iter Lancastrense*, and perhaps dates those letters for us. In the penury of James’s English letters, I hold myself fortunate to have recovered these.

I. “ Deere Sir Rob. Cotton, I wish you all health and happiness and an indomegeable spiritt against the pressure of this evill time, which hath as much malice againt vnderstanding as men. From you at this time I shd not haue parted, if the exigencie and penurie of my life had not forc’d a silent retreat into myself and my owne home at Corpus Christi College ; where I feare the contagion of ill and frivilous-condicione will disease the pleafance of a faire breathing aire and situation. Your Counsell of Constance is with an honest dilatorie man, yet when you please it shalbe speedily and thanckfully returned with a promise from the partie to make somme addition vnto your moft excellent Serraglio of Antiquitie. M^r Twyne fighes [*sic*] and M^r Allen is once more voyaged into the countrey. Your self, your Ladie and Sonne alſo my moft deere Franck and Luce, and Iack and everi parte

of your retinue, haue made me a long and friendly enter-
tainement, of which I shall allwayes beare a singular fresh
memorie ; and I praye your noble Courtesie to haue and
hold me still at best in your remembrance, which entreatie
vpon thought of departure I did phansie out in this
manner.

The poore young Russian youth, that slave
Was to the Prince, and trutchie knaue
To my deere Harrie Wilde, when wee
Forsooke that Northern Barbarie,
Loe bending at my feete did faye
Thancks for my loue, and kindly praye,
His evills, that I would not beare
In minde ; the which none truly were.
This youth I well remember, and
In neere loe manner kisse your hand ;
Hoping of gentle Courtesie
You will no worse remember me.

Your faithfull volun-
tarie
DICK IAMES.”

II. “ Deere Sir Rob Cotton I will hope y^t little Franck
is not greatly fickle ; If she be and it might be so available,
I would foote it from S^t Mi[c]hells mount to Catenesse
to fetch her health. The fault is neither mine nor yours,
that I am retired vnto my self, but y^e villenage of a bad
fortune which will not suffer me to staye goe or doe as I
haue pleasure ; howsoever it lies in your power to doe me

friendly courtesie, whereby my patience wilbe the easier vnder our new Master, whose pride, prerogative, or strange pollicie will as yet admitt neither benifitt to himself nor vs, wherefore I am forct to imagine somme money out of the alter cloaths, wherewith to keepe the winter warme and cleanly, whilest I studye the heavens, because of little buisnesse on earth for an ingenuous mans acceptable emploiment. M^r Neye [or v] did promise to follicit the bargaine from M^r Barowe out of which I would wish to helpe my self and exprefse somē thanckfull remembrance to my most deserving friend M^r Heywood. or it shall not be amisse to give that ambition of mine a little respuit, if you please in y^e meane while to call for my Cofin Carpenter and paye him for me fortie shillings which I borrowed at my departure fending allso hether three peeces more. Those fragments of parchment which I sent you last haue somme narrations of excellent vse in my great treatise, so that I much desire them preservd, and I haue since that time from M^r King gained the vse of two Eusham Leger books, which I doubt not, in time shall bothe comme to your freer keeping when the gards, y^e fwoards and halberds, are remooued, whose fight make M^r Twyne as yet scarce vnaffeard. In the one I haue fownd the mysterie de pulchre placitando. and an excellent instance for the prerogative of the Parliament in interpreting the sence of our great charters, if any doubt thence arife, and the other is as yet vndefloured. If you send to M^r Allen somme good greene ginger, peradventure, besides the comforting of the good ould man, it will allso open somme

other od corner of Antiquitie. So commanding my self into your loue and wiſhing the health and happineſſe of all your companie I reſt

“Your ever thanckfull
friend
“RICH. JAMES.”

III. “Deere Sir At Windſore I found Sir Harrie Wotton abſent from his owne motto which faies aias sapientiores fieri quiescendo ; but M^r Hales one of his learned fellowes beſtowed on me 4 MS. one An Astrological prediction concerning divers princes in Harrie the 7th time. 2. an Apologie of William thomas for his Master, Harrie y^e 8th, which I haue helpt in the preface from a transcript of our publique Library. 3. An Itinerarie or journall of Harrie y^e 8th to Turweyn and Tourney. 4. a Misceſſanerie booke of ſtorie and poefie. To theſe are joyned for companie, the MS of Bede and the lawes of Olfron all made vp together in browne paper and the guilded apocryphall book which you heretofore gave me. Pray Sir on Saturday next lett me heare of y^e receipt for which the Carrier is already paid. All my excellent lovinge friends with you I doe moſt heartily ſalute, and pray my fellowe fervant not to ſteale her ſelf out of your love and protection which hath cheerd and re enforcd new life in me [a line erafed] of all things. and ſo hamperd in the reſt . of Corpus Christi Colledge buisneſſe, I reſt

“Your moſt affectionate
“DICK JAMES.”

IV. “ Deere Sir, I abbounde in leasure, and so on Tuesday last made an outrode to Combe, which is a place faire and pleasaunt of situation if a man may haue acceſſe vnto it through y^e parcke ; but it hath prooved no paradise vnto my Ladies countryman Odbe or Wadbye, as he is there calld, whoe being not able to drive a waye ſome late melancholie or diſease neither with the Alehouse nor other course, ſeemes vnto y^e Iurie aboute halfe a yeere ſince to haue ſett all things in order and drownd both that and himſelf in a brook which runs betwixt Combe and Hanborowe ; yet ſomme thinck the Iurie hath not dealt fairely, and they all reporte well of the man ; and of eſtate he died well worth five or ſix hundred pounds, for which my Lord Chamberlaine and the Almener are in ſuite, if his widowē and a brother’s child now friendleſſe cannot trauerſe and reverse y^e verdiſt. The place of Combe if it were by a more able man inhabited ſeemes not much empaird from what you kniewe it ; there I ſaw the holes from which Sr Thomas Elyott is reported to haue bid Iames Dyer not believe his wife, and if y^e man of y^e house comme to London he will call in and give you more perfitt notice of Odbyes death and anything you or my Ladie shall pleafe to knowe in any of theis reſpects : The Statutes of y^e Savoye and Harrie y^e 7th will, I haue found in my ſtudye and thought fitt to ſend vp with y^e two coynes of Antoninus and Allectus, which I finde not in Occo. My Coſin Elſyng is well, and I as well as I maye, of which I ſhall be glad if my worthye kinde Livetenant M^r Heywod maye haue notice : from whome on Saturday laſt I receiud a

letter by his neighbor's newview. So with a most excellent remembrance of all my friends I rest.

If you thinck my going to Glouster

may doe you any pleasure lett "Your thanckfull
me knowe, and peradventure I servant
can take a faire occasion. "RICH: JAMES."

V. "Good Sir Robert Cotton, if you see M^r President pray will you be glad of his accesse; the malignant disposition of his aduersaries doth yet stay me heere. When I returne I shall howsoeuer bring with me somme thinges that will please you. and my good friend Sir Cripsby Crew alſo, to whome I desire to be recommended. Niews I neither care to tell nor heare. But if you be all well as I am at the writing hereof, all my wiſhes and buisnesſe for this time is ended in beſeeching the complement and continuance of your favour into the bosomme of which I ſhall ſhortly againe preſent my ſelf.

"Your thanckfull
"DICK JAMES."

VI. "Deere Sir, if you please to write vnto y^e Br^p. of Glouſter you ſhall doe well, otherwise the Br^p. of Lincolne doth allready apprehend the buisnesſe heartily, and hath written both to y^e president and him. We are heere governd alſo by a prerogative, and one of y^e moſt vglye favorites that ever imaginerie prince made choice of. Doctor Holt maye haue amongſt vs both loud honour and profit, if he would not as it weare fatally rather embrace his owne ſcorne and our injurie. wherefore my brief letanie ſtill continues that

God would raise me somme kinde friends to deliver a poore captive from the contagion of this brangling Collegial life. Doctor Anyan is gonне for Glouster whence he returns within this twentie dayes, and promiseth to remember me, but he would rather haue me satisfie my self, which I shoulde doe, if to wante of money, the new occasion of our now vacant benefice were not a greater hinderance: Angelica is by the herbalists calld the herbe of y^e holie Ghoste, and somme kinde of it, y^e Emperiall herbe, by reason of their mighty effectuall power, against poisonous infections, as you may reade in Iohannes Antonius Saracenus de peste and Ruellius. the powder of it taken in a quantitie of a peaze with wine at Winter and roze water at Sommer preserves that daye from y^e plague; and so peradventure my Ladie hath retrivd her imperiall powder. So kissinge bothe your friendly hands I take my leave, and shalbe glad to heare of your free health, as alſo of my most en
M^r Selden whoe did rece ”
[torn away].

These Letters and the others, and the fact that he retained the friendship of SIR ROBERT COTTON to the close of his life, and died in his son's house—sufficiently neutralize the calumnies of his enemies whether represented by the incautious statements of BISHOP NICHOLSON on the one hand,¹ or the venomous partizanship and mendacity of Sir

¹ Bishop Nicholson, the looseſt of writers, in reference to James's cataloguing of Cotton's MSS. fays, “being greedy of making ex-

Simon D'Ewes on the other.¹ But by far the most memorable friendship formed by James was with SIR JOHN ELIOT, *ultimus Romanorum*. It has been my privilege to print for the first time “The Monarchie of Man ;” and in my memorial-introduction I give account of his notes and suggestions on that great treatise, which its Author had submitted to his critical judgment, as he also did to JOHN HAMPDEN's. JOHN FOSTER thus reports on a letter of James to Eliot at Port Eliot :—“In one of his letters written in September, 1629, James informs his ‘Deere Sir John Elliott’ that if he shall not have come forth from the Tower after his own return from Canterbury, he will make it his duty to find out some books to entertain his leisure. Meanwhile he has sent him Cardan and a few others : as to which Eliot replies that he has found therein much that was worthy of consideration. Then Mr. James wishes his dear Sir John to resolve him a point as to Lipsius *de Constantia*; which, having leisure of a prison, he will peradventure be pleased once more to read and give his opinion whether in the writing of it Lipsius was not at the time meditating flight from the Hollanders. Eliot's attention is called to the ‘whining philosophie’ with which

tracts out of the books of our History for his own private use, he passed carelessly over a great many very valuable Volumes”—a preposterous *non sequitur* or a slanderous euphemism; for Sir Robert Cotton made his learned librarian free of his library.

¹ See Appendix to this Introduction for D'Ewes' notice of James. Cf. “Gentleman's Magazine,” 1767, p. 335, for account of Sir Robert Cotton's imprisonment from D'Ewes' MSS.

a defence is attempted of the oppression of the Spaniards: grounded on fate, providence, necessity, remonstrance of greater tyranny in ancient time, and what James calls (in the old strict sense of the word) a wicked elevating, or carrying off, the natural affection which every true free heart must bear to his own country. It was a defect, James remarked with pardonable complacency, which he had himself elsewhere shewn, out of Boccalini, to be caused mainly by the Roman superstition, and to have been a great spring and origin of the miseries that had befallen christian commonwealths. ‘This of Lipsius,’ he concludes, ‘I did imagine before I ever read him ; and if you find not my conjecture true, yet there be many antique peices in him which may please a second or third readinge.’ And so, leaving with the imprisoned philosopher that source of amusement, and with his heart blessing all Eliot’s purposes, he rests his faithful servant.”¹ James likewise aided Eliot with his learning and sympathy and the rare books at his command, when he was engaged on his second great book, *De Jure Majestatis*.²

The proud and pathetic story of SIR JOHN ELIOT it were not in place to enter on here. But it is declarative of the make of man Richard James was, that he drew to him and held a nature so noble. James also felt the mailed hand of the Law. He too tasted of imprisonment

¹ “Sir John Eliot: a Biography,” vol. ii. pp. 508/9.

² It is my great privilege to have now in my possession from Earl St. Germans, for leisurely perusal, Sir John Eliot’s MSS. of both his other great books besides his “Monarchie of Man.”

—not in the Tower but in the Gate-house. For fellow-prisoners he had SIR ROBERT COTTON and JOHN SELDEN and others of whom the King was not worthy. That transmutes the shame into glory, the opprobrium into honour. The thing was simply this—as I leave necessarily JOHN FOSTER again to tell it:—“The King could take no lesson from the disposition or temper of his people. He was simply driven by it into courses more intemperate and dangerous. A singular instance was afforded at this very time [1628-30]. Shortly after his second proclamation denouncing Eliot as outlawed and desperate in mind and fortune, announcing his disuse of parliaments, and forbidding as a presumption even the further mention of them, a tract was found to be passing secretly from hand to hand, entitled *A Proposition for his Majesty's Service to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments*, in which the sovereign was recommended with grave irony to abolish them outright as Louis XI. had done, to substitute his own authority everywhere in place of law, and to raise money by a series of suggested absolute edicts. It was the reproduction of an old squib that Sir Robert Dudley had written in Florence in the old King's time, and, suiting exquisitely now the public temper, had a great run. ‘All through the Trinity long vacation,’ says Rushworth, ‘did that tract walk abroad, and go from hand to hand, sometime at court, sometime in the country, and sometime at the inns of court, the humours of the author being much enjoyed.’ But at last it came to the knowledge of the King, to whom the appreciation of humour was unknown;

and led to the most contemptible prosecution on record even in the annals of the star-chamber. Copies having been traced to the Earls of Clare, Bedford, and Somerſet, to Selden and Oliver St. John, all were dragged into that court. It being alleged to have come originally out of the library of Sir Robert Cotton, the library was put under seizure and closed ; its learned owner was imprisoned by order of the council; AND THE SAME FATE WAS INFILCTED ON HIS LIBRARIAN RICHARD JAMES. These iniquitous things were done at the opening of Michaelmas term ; they were persisted in for many months ; the court covered itself in the process with ridicule and shame ; and at last was too glad to accept the excuse of the birth of a prince of Wales to direct a pardon to every one implicated. This was at the close of May, 1630 ; and in the same month of the following year Sir Robert Cotton died. The seizure of his library was a blow he had never recovered.”¹ One stands amazed that a proud and free nation submitted to such infamous treatment of her foremost men by such a creature as Charles I. Deposition and exile would have been a mild exaction for violation of law so absolute and treason to the rights and liberties of Englishmen so prodigious. It was one of many elements that drove events forward to Whitehall window and the decollated head. James’s poem headed “A consultation with myself, when I was confin’d into close keeping by y^e Lords” verifies the Cavalier’s refrain, “Stone walls do not a pris’nor make.”

¹ “Sir John Eliot : a Biography,” as before, pp. 506-7.

RICHARD JAMES lost more than a patron, he lost a revered friend on the death of SIR ROBERT COTTON. But his son and heir continued him in his old post and duties and trust. He was thus kept within the charmed circle of the statesmen and scholars of the age. All too speedily or mercifully speedy, another and supreme man had also gone. “I should gladly heare,” he wrote, “some cheerful news of Sir John Eliot.” “Will the tide never turn? Then God send us heauen at our last end!” On November 27th, 1632, Sir John Eliot died.

I may be mistaken, but as I read and re-read between the lines, James's elaborate Letter, “Reasons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Personages”—for the first time printed herein—I discern insignia in it of the impulse to its preparation. It is to my mind a shaft of piercing light (or lightning) flashed in upon the thought and emotion of contemporary Englishmen. I have a conviction that it was debated—though left undecided—whether the wild justice of getting rid anyhow of such a King as then played the tyrant on the throne of England were not justifiable. Such debates were portents. If they had had a daring man—like Felton—as well as patriotic thinkers, the righteous doom of January 30th, 1649, had been ante-dated by a decade and a half of years at least. Personally James was loyal to Monarchy, as were SIR JOHN ELIOT, HAMPDEN, PYM, and their compeers—even Cromwell himself indisputably—but towards the actual monarch there were, as also with them, many “searchings of heart.”

Behind these more conspicuous acts and incidents of his life, James was fulfilling his function as a clergyman by preaching in the University and elsewhere as opportunities were afforded. Various of his Sermons—some in Latin and some in English—he published.

His longest poem—"Iter Lancastrense" not excepted—the "Muses Dirge," was published on the death of King James I. This somewhat notable poem no one ever appears to have heard of until I disinterred it from among George III.'s books in the British Museum. Elsewhere (II. Critical) I return upon it. Biographically, it is to be observed that he is in its title-page designated "Preacher of Gods Word at Stoke-Newington in the Countie of Middlesex, neere London."¹ We must take this literally. He was neither Vicar, nor Rector, nor Curate, simply a 'Preacher' in the absence of one or the other. He never held a resident 'living' in the Church. Albeit, on the death of his uncle Dr. Thomas James (in August, 1629) he through the Archbishop of Canterbury succeeded him in the fine-

¹ The Rev. Prebendary Jackson, present rector of Stoke Newington, finds no mention in the parish register of Richard James as either rector or curate at any time. He kindly informs me that Richard Lloyd, parson, was rector from 1593 to 1629; John Taverner, parson, from 1629 to 1638; William Heath, rector, to 1644, when he was sequestered and succeeded by the famous Dr. Thomas Manton. The curates were the Rev. —— Fowler, 1621; William Hammond, 1674. These latter entries show a wide gap, so that Richard James might have, as some say, been 'preacher' or curate permanently in the interval between 1621 and 1638. Certes, the title-page of the "Muses Dirge," 1625, is unmistakable enough.

cure-rectory of Little Mongeham in Kent, to which he was instituted on the 22nd October, 1629. He resigned this in 1635.

In successive years other publications followed; and it may be as well to record them at this point *in cumulo*. I place under each the little Epistles-dedicatory, where these are worth preserving.

I. Anti-Poffevinvs, five Concio Habita ad Clerum in Academiâ Oxonienfi Ann. Domini 1625.
Authore Richardo Iamesio Socio C.C.C. Vec-
tenſi. Oxonæ. 1625. 4o. [Text 2 Tim.
iv. 13.]

II. A Sermon concerning the Eucharist. Delivered on Easter Day in Oxford. London: 1629.
4o. [Text St. Matt. xxvi. 26-28.]

III. A Sermon delivered in Oxford, Concerning the Apostles Preaching and ours. By Richard Iames,
Bachelor of Diuinite, and Fellow of C.C.C.
in Oxford. London. 1630. 4o. [Text 1
Cor. ix. 16.]

Epistle:—

To my Noble Friend, Sir Robert Cotton.

Deare Sir ROBERT COTTON, this little
. *Treatise* hath a long time, (according to Horace
aduice) layen in season with my owne iudge-
ment. And now it desires to come forth into the

world's vfe, for your acceptance. Pray Sir receiue it kindly, as you haue done me for the space of more then foure yeares cherishing both my life and learning. So, if God's pleasure bee to finde mee out a happie leasure, I shall euer strive to expresse greater thankfulness, and rest

Your most faithful Servant

RICH. IAMES.

- IV. A Sermon delivered in Oxford. Concerning the obseruation of Lent-Fast. By Richard Iames [as in III.]. London: 1630. 4o. [No text.]

Epistle:—

To my Learned Friend Sir Henry Spelman.

Worthy Sir, my little infant Workes haue found such gentle easie entertainment at your learned hands, as this reioyceth to appropriate it selfe to your obseruance. Pray Sir, fauour it with the same courtesie; and I shall euer rest

Your most deuoted Seruant

RICH. IAMES.

- V. A Sermon Concerning the Time of Receiving the Sacrament; and of Mutuall Forgivenesse. Delivered in C.C.C. at the Election of a President. By Richard Iames B. of Divinitie. London: 1632. 4o. [Text 1 Cor. xi. 25.]

Epistle:—

To the Stvdents of C.C. Col. in Oxford.

Deare friends, to the moft of whom I

have euer been loving and beloued ; you that haue seen my cleere open conversation, will know that as I doe not willingly doe any displeasure or injurie to any man either in name or fortune, so without over-mighty occasion I haue no patience to suffer them. And this quality of mine, the reader also will easily gather from the trouble and disturbance of my refolution in this brief treatise. Howsoeuer both hee and you shall doe kindly to favour my free nature. So shall I have courage, if not in great, at least in this meaner retayling way, to deliuer the fruites of my industry and obseruation to the world's use, and not as I would you should ἀπροφοσίως,

Your most affectionate friend and servant

RICHARD JAMES.

VI. An Apologeticall Essay for the Righteousnes of Miserable Vnhappy People. Delivered in a Sermon at S. Maries in Oxford. By Richard James [as in No. III.] London. 1632. 40. [Text Ps. xxxvii. 25.]

Epistle :—

Clarissimo Viro Kenelmo Digby.

Quod Schediasmata hæc & Mori & mea paucula tuo nomini curaverim inscribenda, facit candor egregius & benevolentia quâ nuper dignatus es quandam meam Academicam concionem. Eipedij his testatam cupio Orbi relinquere pietatem meam erga optimè merètes amicos clarissimum Cottonum & Magistrum Thomam Allenum optimum senem, qui te hæeredem fecerit supellestilis literariae. Mori autem posthuma ad Academicos Epistola ostendit,

quod pluribus alibi à me historicā narratione clarius elucescit,
 quantā malitiā persequuti sint Romañi degeneres nascentes
 vbicunq; humaniores literas per annos plus quam sexcentos,
 etiam ab ipsa ætate Gregorij Magni. Vale Vir Clarissime
 et semper amare pergas, qui brevi in studiosorum gratiam
 multa Novo-antiqua tuo favore industriam meam protogene
 sum in lucem prolaturus.

Tibi omni observantiâ deditus,
 15 folios. RICH. IAMESIVS.

VII. Concio Habita ad Clervm Oxonensem de Ecclesia.

Authore Richardo Iamesio *Vectenfii*, Baccalaureo
 Sacrae Th. Socio CCC. Oxon: 1633. 40.
 [Text St. Matt. xvi. 18.]

VIII. Epistola Thomæ Mori ad Academiam Oxon: cui
 adjecta sunt quædam Poemata in mortem
 Clarissimi Viri Roberti Cottoni et Thomæ
 Alleni. Oxon. 1633. 40.

Intermingled with these graver studies and resultant books, were lighter ones. The Poems inform us that if he was not actually admitted as one of ‘rare Ben’s’ sons, he had warm admiration, and—as I judge—personal acquaintance with the aged poet. The little verse-tribute to Ben Jonson “on his Staple of Niews first presented” is extremely noteworthy. This was in 1625. Kindred with this, and probably contemporaneously prepared, was his transcript of Occleve’s poem of “The Legend and Defence of Sir Jhon Oldcastell,” with learned notes. But incomparably the most important of all his occasional poems is the remarkable—very remarkable—contribution to

the 1632 folio of Shakespeare, signed J. M. S. — as I agree with Joseph Hunter in thinking, J[a]M[e]S. Onward [II. Critical] I put the matter critically before my readers ; nor do I doubt much of their verdict. Scarcely less memorable, alike in its subject and circumstances and actual execution, is the strong-lined celebration of JOHN FELTON the assassin of Buckingham.

A volume of his Letters—almost wholly in Latin—informs us that he carried on an active correspondence with the leaders of thought and activity contemporary with him. We have already seen how inward and kindly were his relations to SIR ROBERT COTTON, SIR JOHN ELIOT, JOHN SELDEN, and others of the same noble breed. His Latin Letters exhibit him in like relations with the men of his own beloved College—as DR. SEBASTIAN BENEFIELD, DR. THOMAS JACKSON, BRIAN TWINE, NICHOLAS BAYLIE, JOHN HAMPSON, ROBERT DIOT, DR. JOHN FLEMING, MATTHEW COLMAR, DR. JOSHUA AISGILL, JOHN SELLER, ANTHONY WHITE, his uncle DR. THOMAS JAMES, his cousin DR. FRANCIS JAMES, his uncle DR. EDWARD JAMES, AMADÆUS BENEFIELD, JOHN MINNE, JOHN STREETING,—all in some way men of mark and potentiality in their day, but that day, except in perhaps two instances, long since gone by. It cannot be needful that I blow the dust off either their tomes or their tombs.¹ These Letters will furnish excellent materials for an

¹ See Wood's "Athenæ," f. n. and Mr. Corser, as before, pp. lxvii.-lxx.

INTRODUCTION.

Editor's introduction to the 'Decanonizatio.' I limit myself to two—revised after Corser by the original MSS. The first is of rare interest from its allusions to Ben Jonson. It is as follows :—

“ Ad Doct. Franciscū James.

“ Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Chrysostomus acriter inventur in artem Roscianam et spectacula. Verū non ducendi eorū aculei adversus tragœdias et comedias nostri temporis, quæ ut plurimum liberrimæ sūt a veterū illarū spurcitie in quibus etiā Christiano jam orbe, obſcenitas oīs effundebatur, et præter cætera exuebantur vestib[us] populo ſpectante meretrices, et in conspectu eius ad ſatietaſem vſq[ue] impudicorū luminū cū pudendis motib[us] detinebantur. Sed quod unū nos ſemper urgere videbitur, induuntur inquiunt et in his viri ornatu muliebri adverſ[us] præscriptū facræ scripturæ: Cui respondeo, institutū eſſe scripturæ tantū fraudes inde prohibere et vſū communiter, aut si hoc non placet, habeatur aliquando orbi confiliū vestiariorū quod plena autoritate ſententiā ferat de vestibus, quæ viriles et quæ conveniāt fœmineo generi, et vtrū ſine ſcismate permitti queant populo totius Orientis illæ eorū tunicæ, qui nobis habitus eſſet procul dubio pro muliebri damnandus, q[uo]d vltierius reducūt hoc ad præceptū de non committendo adulterio, et propterea neq[ue] jā licere ridiculū eſt, eadem enim ratione neq[ue] nobis ſuffecta cū ſanguine eſſet oīo comedenda q[uo]d videatur illud ſpectare ad præceptū de non occidendo. Credo ſi révivicerent jā patres illi libenter ſpectarent ingeniū fecundissimi Beniamini Jonſoni, quem

ut Thuanus de Petro Ronfardo censeo cū omni antiquitate comparandū si compta et plena sensibus poemata ejus et scenica spectemus: cui non Catullianum illud et Martialis sunt in apologiā. Nam castū esse decet piū poetam ipsum: verisculos nihil necesse¹ est, et

“innocuos censura potest permittere lusus
Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est:”

Sed chartam amat vita innocentiorē, ut quam reposcēt in ævū longū elegantiorum manus, cum pulvis et umbra tantū fuerit tam virginis chartæ pater:—

“Ede tuos tandem populo Jonsonē libellos
Et cultum docto peccore profer opus
Quod nec Cecropiæ damnent Pandionis artes
Nec fileant nostri, prætereantque senes,
Ante fores stantem dubitas admittere famam
Teq; piget famæ præmia ferre tuæ
Post te vieturæ per te quoq; vivere chartæ
Incipient, cineri gloria fera venit.”

[MS. xiii. pp. 24-25.]

A second is to Bryan Twine—a forgotten scholar, thus:—

“Epistola ad M. Bryonem Twine.

“Sacerdotiū Romanū in Epistola gratulatoria ad Cyprianum eum papæ nōie salutant, illud nescio quis absurdus et fastidiens lector expunxit, reponens alicubi Episcopum, cū papa sit honestū satis vocabulū ut ex multis patet, et ex elaboratis antiquitatibus Stephani Pasquierei, sed bruta malitia hujus novi hoīs mirū quāntū sese exercuit in hanc

¹ *Sic*—of course should have been a couplet, as in the other quotation.

antiquam et plenam reverentiae vocem ubique, quoties reperitur in omnisibus proprie libris refertissimae Bibliothecae Richardi Fox meritissimi Fundatoris Coll. Corp. X. in libris non tantum Theologicis sed et medicis et juridicis, libris et librorum titulis, initiis, medio, fine, ut cum certissimum sit stercoreum hunc Aristarchum nihil preterea legisse, (intelligere recte non potuit talis infantia) verè mihi persuadeam, hanc homis soleritiam non fuisse sine adjutorio et divinatione ipsius Dæmonis. Quare enim qui adversus papam tam furiosus est, non et Dæmonem etiā tot nōibus et titulis famosum apud eosdem scriptores, nigro suo carbone notaverit? scilicet hac veniā agnoscit sibi patronum et suggestorem tam humilis veneni: hoc genus hominum fuerūt qui parentum nostrorum memoria simili zelo martyres fecerunt libros manuscripts et perire nobis infinitos incomparabiles authores, ut Rogerium Baconum nostrum de quo Johannes Twine in libello commētariorū de antiquitatibus hujus Insulæ. Rogerius Baconus, inquit, Anglus, ordine Franciscanus Oxoniensis incomparabilis Mathematicus qui nonnullos ædedit ejus argumenti, nonnullos theologicos libellos, quorum qui de victoria Christi contra anti-Christum inscribitur, dignum imprimis censeo qui a vobis perlegatur. Cuius opera omnisa graphicè manuscripta, et fortiter compacta, ab ignaris homibus, ut erat temporum aliquot superiorum deflenda barbaries, qui se tamen sciolos haberi volebant, non intellecta, et pro necromanticis damnata, longis clavis affixa tabulatis in bibliotheca Franciscanorum Oxonii, blattas ac tineas pascentia, situque et pulvere obducta miserè computruerūt. Hoc quanquā ab illis, vere similitudine boni, ad

supprimenda malarū artiū volumina factū : non dubitandū tamen quin eadē opera atq; ignorantia præstantia aliqua scripta prorsus extinctā sūt, quibus etiā viris gratiæ habendæ quod ullis hodie fruamur. Ut isti timore superstitionis magicæ nobis Rogeriū abstulerūt, sic et Antipas ille nequior blattis et tineis, cū suis puris putis congerronibus innumeros probos autores, ut essent damnata charta miserūt in officinas mechanicorum, quod scilicet viderētur lemniscatis et rubris frontibus lavere triplici coronæ [sic] septingeminæ bestiæ.”—(pp. 11-13.)

Other Letters in this volume acquaint us with the odd, out-of-the-way, speculative inquiries, wherewith scholars busied themselves in former days. Sometimes lore as singular as any in Sir Thomas Browne's “Vulgar Errors” emerges; sometimes there is the very *fantastique* of ingenuity in dealing with Hebrew roots and words; sometimes there is a throb of indignation with the credulities and tyrannies of Popery; and sometimes there is a ripple of quiet laughter. I should like to see these Letters and the pith of his Note-books—chokeful of learning—worthily edited and published.

‘Iter Lancastrense’ belongs to 1636; and brings James down into Lancashire and Cheshire and Cornwall, with open eyes for everything, and a self-evident resolution to be pleased with everybody and everything. Hereafter I shall look into this descriptive poem. For the moment I simply remark that it must have been a delicious escape for the recluse and aging scholar to turn his back on Oxford and London alike, and hie him to the salt air and the rural

quietudes of Heywood Hall for centre with excursions planned over a considerable circumference.

His last published book was the following :—“ Minucius Felix his Dialogue called Octavius ; containing a Defence of Christian religion. Translated by Richard James, of C.C.C. Oxon. Printed by Leonard Lichfield for Thomas Huggins. 1636.” (12°.) Prefixed is a little Epistle-dedicatory to the widow of his patron Sir Robert Cotton. It claims a place here :—

“ To my Lady Cotton wife of S^r Robert Cotton of Conington.”

“ Madame I have received many favours from you, & doe in thankfullnesse present unto your Ladishippe this my translation of Minutius Felix his dialogue, which consists of three speakers, M. Minucius Felix, Cecilius Natalis, & Octavius Ianuarius. The one is judge, the other produces in a flourishing oration all the arguments of the Gentiles against the Christian religion, & the third makes unto them such cleare answere as I believe it will rejoyce a Christian reader to understand. Wherefore as the better sort of Greekes, Romans, Italian, French, & others have taken a pleasure to render unto their owne nation what they found worthy in other languages; I in this little peece have followed their example, annexing unto it something of my owne, for nearenesse of subiect, pray Madame let either have your acceptance & know me

“ Your faithfull servant,

“ RICHARD JAMES.”

‘ Annexed’ to the ‘Dialogue’ were three sacred poems, viz., 1. A Good Friday Thought. 2. A Christmasse Caroll. 3. A Hymne on Christ’s Ascension.

It is to be feared that RICHARD JAMES was often in straits. His Fellowship in Corpus Christi probably gave him an academical home as he came and went to Oxford.

But London, not Oxford, afforded him employment; not, it is to be suspected, well paid. ANTHONY A-WOOD plaintively iterates and reiterates his 'drudgery.'¹ It is grievous to realize how comparatively slender an amount from his Church would have placed him out of anxiety for 'daily bread' and brought him leisure to achieve those works on which he had set his heart. Uncle and nephew found their mother-church very much a stepmother. Even Anthony a-Wood felt this, spite of his characteristic taunt that he was "a severe Calvinist, if not worse;"² for he writes in his '*Athenæ*':—"He was noted by all those that knew him to be a very good Grecian, poet, an excellent critic, antiquary, divine, and admirably well skill'd in the Saxon and Gothic languages." . . . "Though humorous [= given to humours] he was of a far better judgment than his uncle Thoma[s] James, and had he lived to his age, would have surpassed him in published books." . . . "Nothing was wanting to our author and his studies, but a finecure or a prebendship; either of which, if conferr'd upon him, Hercules his labours would have seemed a trifle." From certain *memoranda* that have come down to us we learn that his close application to study and confined and laborious life, brought on a sudden attack of quartan ague or fever, while he was staying in the house of Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart., near Westminster Hall, which carried him off after a brief illness, early in December, 1638, when in

¹ "*Athenæ*," by Blifs, ii. 629.

² By Blifs, ii. 629.

³ *Ibid.*

the forty-seventh year of his age; and in the same month he was buried in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, in the Burial Register of which parish he is styled “Mr. Richard James, That most famous Antiquary.”¹ In the “Decanonizatio” I found—as pointed out by Mr. Corser—the following entries in the handwriting of Dr. Thomas Greaves :—

1. “Librum hunc cui titulus est Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum, composuit Ricardus Jamesius Vectensis S.S. Theologæ Bacc. et C. C. C. Oxon. Socius, Vir integerrimus ac fide et morum probitate insignis, diffusæ eruditio[n]is, et cui vere illud elogium trib. Seld. in Marm. Ar.

“Obiit 28° Decemb^r 1638 ex febri quartanâ Westmonasterii in ædibus Cottonianis an. æt[atis 46.] et in æde D. Margaretæ Westm. sepultus est.

“2. Jamesi quanto plorem tua funera fletu

Hic mihi testis erit Liber, et quæ conscia flentis
Ostendit crebras lacrymarum charta lituras.

“THOMAS GREAVES.”

II. CRITICAL.

I thought it might lighten our little Memoir if I placed by themselves such additional remarks—additional to those in their places in the Life—as seemed called for, concerning the Writings of our Worthy. Any elaborate ‘critical’ examination of such were disproportionate; but there are things in them and of them that it may be well to accentuate.

I have already (in Preface and I. Biographical, pp. xvii)

¹ Quoted by Mr. Corser, as before, p. liv.

claimed from the University Press, and his Colleges at Oxford, the rescue and revival of the “Decanonizatio” of Becket. I would urge that it is his great life-work. No one who has not examined it can have an adequate conception of the intellectual force or of the prodigious width of the learning of RICHARD JAMES. As ROBERT ARIS WILLMOTT has observed of BISHOP WARBURTON, “That flame of genius must have been strong which shot up through the rubbish and dust” of his “vast heap of erudition.”¹ His Letters—in Latin—and miscellaneous Note-books, take us to the quarries whence he hewed the cyclopean blocks of his “Decanonizatio.” For myself it has been infinitely pathetic to turn over these numerous MSS. in the Bodleian, thus far thought out and written—in vain. His remarkable “Reas ons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Personages,” like his NOTES to OCCLEVE’s poem on SIR JOHN OLDCastle, are on the same lines of recondite (*e.g.* Talmudic) and enormous learning and reading with his “Decanonizatio.” Even his Sermons—English and Latin—have similar characteristics. I should suppose that in LEARNING he was the equal as well as associate of SELDEN and SIR JOHN ELIOT and the great race of contemporary English scholars.

I had gleaned a number of passages from the “Decanonizatio” for quotation; but on reconsideration I have concluded that it were only to repeat the old folly of producing a brick to give an idea of a building, to give from

¹ “Summer Time in the Country, August 3rd.”

a large closely-written folio of fully 760 pages, such mere detached fragments as our Introduction could allow of. Besides, as prefixed to his Poems such quotations would be somewhat out of place. The Letters to Uſher (I. Biographical, pp. xvii) sufficiently indicate the importance which his learned uncle and himself attached to it. There is an Address “Ad Le^torem” in the beginning, which thus commences :—“ Amice Lector rogatus sum fæpius à venerabili quodam viro amico meo, cuius consilio et auxilio utor in re litterariâ, ut ea scriptis comprehendenderem, quæ aliquando familiari sermone differuisse de negocio Regis Henrici secundi cum Thomâ Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Ecce ergo eâ de re tractatum liberiorem, quam ut majori cum fructu percenseas, præfari de eâ et proposito meo paucis operæ pretium putavi ” etc. The treatise itself thus closes : “ Atque ita Deo favente opus hoc Decanonizationis exegi :—Illi semper fit gloria. Vivat Rex noster Jacobus, vivat Carolus princeps, et si imperio nostro Brytanico intra fines juris et justitiæ se continentि nova illa Carthago insidiabitur, illa, illa cum Papâ et Jesuitis et Puritanis destruatur.”

Of his Sermons—published and unpublished—it is difficult to speak without much fuller quotation than is here deemed expedient. I have read the whole with some care ; and I admire the judiciousness (to say the least) of Mr. Corser’s representative *bits*. I feel that I cannot really do better than reproduce his remarks and selections, as thus :—

“ The prose style of James, which sometimes reminds us

of that of the Author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, is exceedingly rhapsodical and abrupt, and inlaid with a rich embroidery of learned quotation. It is, however, racy and vigorous; and though sometimes obscure and affected, is occasionally striking and happy. The following passage from his Apology for unhappy men, which is a Sermon on Psalm xxxvii. 25, ‘I have beene young, and now am old; yet I never saw the righteous forsaken, nor their seed begging bread,’ may be selected as a fair specimen. Of three Sermons which he preached, as Ant. Wood informs us, the first, concerning the observance of Lent, was without a Text, the second against his Text, and the third beside it. Probably this was the second, for he certainly treats the declaration of the Psalmist with very little ceremony, and positively denies his conclusion, at least in its literal meaning; in this respect falling into the not unusual error of reasoning on an isolated passage of Scripture, without fully considering the bearing of the context, and its influence upon the true interpretation of the whole. The tone adopted by James is rather a singular one, and seems more akin to that of such a writer as the Author of the *History of the Man after God’s own Heart*, than that of a sincere and pious believer such as James undoubtedly was.

“‘ For the insinuation of a begging speech, *David* might have beene the king of Beggars, or their learned secretary; yet to shew that his righteousnesse might sometimes begge and not bee satisfied, *Nabal* a churle, so hard as his cragges of Carmel answered *Davids* servants and said: Who is *David*, and who is the sonne of *Ibbai*? There is plentie of servants now adayes that breake away every man from his master, shall I then take my bread, my water, and my flesh

that I have killed for my sheerers, and give it unto men whom I wot not whence they be ? If *David* will have bread from the Iusticiarie *Nabal*, he must leave his humilitie and the beggerisme of a set speech, gird on his sword, and with a party of 400. men, after *Abigail Nabals* wife hath beeme put in a flight, shee will come, and bring him a present, 200. loaves, 2. cheroes, 2. great goat baggs of wine, five sheepe ready dreft, five measures of parched corne, a 100. frailes of raisins, and 200. cakes of figges. A sturdy course prevailes better then begging. Peradventure righteous children in his sence doe begge no bread, when it is the more trustie way to draw the sword and get better cheere through violence ; For when it cometh of meere gift, 'tis not all so dainty ; as in the uncivill and unnaturall wars betwixt him and his sonne *Abelson*, three more gentle countrey-men, *Sobi*, *Machin*, and *Barzelai* brought unto him wheat and barley, floure and parched corne, beanes, lentills, and parched pulse, because he and his people were hungry, weary, and thirsty in the wildernesse. In these Farmers gift there is no wine nor plums for an after service ; and strange it is, that a King in the course of his life should have suffered all this ; and yet in the rapture and meditation of a Psalme, gather unto himselfe at threescore or fourscore an experience also divers, and say as we have it in our old *English* translation, which delights to word the *Latin* text ; Younger I was, and forsooth I yeelded, and I saw not the righteous forsaken, nor his feed seeking bread. *¶¶¶¶¶* I yeelded, I grew up in beard and age, and I saw not this or that. But howsoever or whatsoever we heare from himselfe, we see it to have beene far otherwise in the trust of a faithful register ; and therefore I must borrow in part the words of Saint *Peter*, and say unto you, Men and brethren, let me freely speake unto you of the Patriarch *David*; For he was both hungry and thirsty, and went seeking and begging bread. Certainly, ever since the first *Adam* did eate of the forbidden fruit, and brought a curse upon the earth, since the earth left quickly to beare bread of her owne accord, even princes and principalities have beene subiect unto the terror of those words in the second of *Genesis*; In sorrow shalt thou eate of it, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread. We must have either sorrow and care, and paine in getting of bread with our sweat and industrie,

or in eating bread without labour of getting, we treasure up unto our selves the greater sorrow of the gout, stone, strangurie, dropsie, skurvy, and a thousand more tormenting attendants of lazienesse, and for the use of bread we must pay also the tribute of our bodies unto the earth. In forrowes of mind or sweat of our body we must eat the bread of carefulnesse untill wee be turned againe into the belly of our mother ground, faith God, in the second of *Genesys*. *Pindarus* a heathen Poet hath excellently exprest this sad travaile of our life for bread, where hee saith, *χρόναραπάποντες πονηρῶντε νῦντο κυνάν παρὰ διὰ αὐραν*. In this life, to get a pittiful, poore, fraile suste-nance, we are forc't to plow both land and sea, or as the Scholiast will understand, for bread or breadworth whole nations are faine both on the Ocean and continent to draw out armies and squadrons one against another with mutuall perill and defruction. All men must have sorrow with their bread, and some of all sorts must want bread. The Prophet *David* after the Patriarches wanted not bread alone, being righteous, but also many Prophets, many Saints, many Martyrs and Confessours of the truth have been in the like case. *Elias* wants bread and would have starved, without a miracle of ravens and angels to relieve him. *Lazarus* is a Saint of an undoubted Calender, where farre off from the place of torments he was seene to bee in the rest of *Abrahams* bosome, who living was but a poore beggar, could get no other Surgeons then dogs, who came also for want of bread and lickt his soares, had no other hospital then the louzie gate of a rich man, from whose gormand table to his share fell no crummes, a little to refresh his perishing life. And the martyrs and confessours which were stoned, were hewne afunder, were tempted, slaine with the sword, wandered about in sheepe-skins, and goate-skins, destitute, afflicted, and tormented, which wandered in wildernes and mountaines, and in dens and caves of the earth, can you thinke that they were not oft to seeke of bread? Then yet the righteous in this world may be forsaken, and they may both begge and want bread; and we must seek farther for a resolution of our sentence; if first I do remember unto you one most famous forraine instance of this casualtie; *Belizarius* was a noble and brave gentleman, a patritian of *Constantinople*, of goodly visage and tall stature,

temperate, and compleate of all vertues, curteous to all sorts of men, the souldiers and swaines were at strife who shold love and praise him most. The souldier could not want either horse, vichituals, or armes, where he was Generall, and so content with their owne pay and provision did offer no violence to the Farmer, nor spoile his labour. Hee led a triumph through the City for reward of his great deserts and service of the warres, he had scowred and quieted all corners and quarters of the Empire, beaten the Goths in Italy often, broke the *Vandals* in *Africa*, brought the Persians under subiection, and forced the fallyng Parthians to sit downe quiet from outroads, and molesting the frontires. Yet this man of men, as some Annalists report, was made by the jealous feare of a wicked Prince έξ ἐπιτυμων ἀηγος ἔχατως, of an honorable glorious Generall, a man extreamely poore, ω τυχῆς της στρατοῦ! O the unstatefulness of fortune, cryes out *Zetys*, had his eyes put out, made to goe up and downe with a wooden dish, and begge for God's cause, that passengers would give one halfpenny to the poore *Bellizarius*, who had beene a famous and victorious leader of the Emperiall forces, but now had no eyes to leade him the way taken from him by the envy and emulation of the Court. τεγονε φεῦ ἐλειλδες τυμνάτερ ος ὑπέρου. This brave illustrious Worthy, alas againe, faith *Constantinus Manasses*, was made as bare as the pestle of a morttar. Φθόνε θύριον χαλεπὸν, δληζα, φονεῦ, δώκτα, σκόρπιο μιρόκεντρο πτύρις ἀνθρωποβόρε. O thou sore biting beast, not fortune but envie, thou theefe, murderer, scorpiion with a thousand stings! thou man devouring tiger, thou dragonesse, thou witch, thou plant of poyson, thou steelestele piercing dart, how long shall thy tyrant-rage thus continue in confounding the courses of human life? So passionate is he in his briefe history. So long as envy and malice live, whilst there be in the world usurers, oppressors, pyrats, robbers, fires, deluges, stormes, plagues, famines, warres, foolish Princes, favorites, undeferring and religious impostours, there will never be wanting woe and distresse to the best men.'

" It is curious to observe the remarkable and strange material which was introduced into the Sermons of that period; and of all eccentric preachers, perhaps few were

more distinguished in that way than James, who was accounted so even in his own times, as we learn from Ant. Wood. Of two manuscript Sermons still preserved among his collections, the first, which is on the Text of John xii. 32, ‘ And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me,’ originally concluded with a Poem of his own, which will be given hereafter, called ‘ a Hymne on Chrifit’s Ascension,’ and introduced thus :—

“ ‘ For God, saith the Apostle, hath concluded all in unbelief, that he might have mercie on all. All must be shitt in unbelief, and all believe. St. Peter did on this consideration fall into a rapture of admiration of God’s wayes past finding out; and in such manner with your leave, will I utterly end in a Sonnet of praise and meditation upon this solemnitie, least in much speed upon so high a subje&t, I loose myself: and the Sonnet is this :

To thy passion and thy birth
Blest Lord, I have, &c.’

“ The other Sermon, on James v. 14, among much similar matter, contains the following singular paſſage :—

“ ‘ Casually the Prophets and the Apostles have raised men to life by stretching themselves forth upon their bodies. And so would St. Bernard the white Moncks Angell pretend to doe upon a Marquis his sonne of Burgundie, and Gualther the Erle of Namours whoe was alreadie buried in a Charterhouse Priorie. But the firſt was not effected, and for the ſecond the ſtory is, Convolavit dompnus Barnardus ad ſepulchrum illud et cum diutissime prostratus oraffet, oravit eum prior ut pranderet, erat vi. hora. Cui Barnardus, non recedam inquit donec miſeris loquatur pater Galterus, et exclamavit voce magnâ Galtere, veni foras. Galterus autem quia non audivit vocem Jefu non habuit aures Lazari et non venit. Manie ſuch like remembrances were once had at y^e table of Gilbert Folioſt Bishop of London concerning Saint Bernards hypocriticall affectation of

miracles. Hypocrisie was the verie Genius of theis moncks and friers, by which they beguild the noblemen of their lands, the clergie of their parishes, diverting them to y^e use of their infirmarie, their kitchen, their after service, the whole villadge of Kudsene to a wine seller: And their lives so Antarstique were to all earnest pietie, as I wonder not if ould Piers Plowman did long since designe for them the revendge of Harrie y^e 8th when he says

“ Then y^e Abbot of Abingdon with all his Freeres
Shall haue a knocke of a king.”

“ ‘And as theis Moncks and Friers, so their Bishops alſo wanted not their wayes of diſſimulation in this kinde; for which they are reprehended by our thrice Chancelour Thomas Gascoigne in his Theological Dictionarie. In the times of perſecution Apoftolicall men being forſt to liue à wandering life uſd long pelches of gotes and ſheepe, to ſecure them againſt the wether, wherefore, faith he, for reſemblance our Bishops weare long traïnes of fattin, and our gentlewomen take the faſhion and a great duſt is everie where stirrd up. But of all impoſtures for villanie and atheiſme, give us the ceremonie of the Popes owne holineſſe. When he crownes the Emperour auncientlie in Rome, he leades him up to à mountaine called Monte Magiore and from thence turning round faies, Hæc omnia tibi dabo. With the devill he pretends title to all the earth, and the power thereof, and both the fwoards, and yet in his owne coronation ſee what povertie, as it is expreſt, in their owne *Ordo Romanus*.’

“ And yet at times James could riſe with his ſubject, and uſe even elegant and ſublime language, as the concluſion to one of his printed Sermons on the Eucharift will abundantly show:—

“ ‘What a Priēt muſt doe, if after the confeſcation he finde no wine in the Chalice. What a Priēt ought to doe, if after the confeſcation he ſee fleſh or a little young boy in the Sacraſtent. What man not given ouer to a reprobaſte ſenſe, will not eaſily understand the illuſion of theſe men, ſtuffing their miſſals and ceremoniall bookeſ

with so many impertinent vanities, so many foolish and darke imaginations, refusing as the Gentiles did before them, to see clearly the invisible power of God in the visiblity of his creation, changing the truth of God unto a lye, and worshipping and seruing the creature more then the Creator, who is blessed for euer: with these propositions I desire not to moue laughter, but both in my selfe and you a sad disdaine of the most foolish Cimmerian darknesse, which the Roman tyranny had drawne ouer our senses, our reaon, our judgment, and all the intellectuall faculties of the soule, which in the dayes of our Ancestors was at the revolution of this feast to combate with so many meteors of Divinity. The irreligion, the violence, the presumption of the Roman Church in this part is infinite. Christ said at the Pasceouer that *he would no more drinke of the fruit of the vine untill the kingdome of God be come.* And they at all aduentures in their kingdome haue hurld him into the cup. He said he would no more eat the bread, and they make him deuoure it. *He tooke bread, and bee tooke wine, and said, this bread and this cup is my new Testament.* And they say no, here is neither this nor that, but in visible sensible bread nothing is, but Christ inuisible. Wee see not that which is, and what wee see, that is nothing. Yes, in this nothing with them, Christ is fully as long and broad, and corpulent as at the day of his passion, receiuied in whole, and every part and crumme entirely into the narrownesse of our mouthes. They read riddles, and not Sacraments. *Christ tooke bread, and brake it when he had giuen thanks, and gave it to his Disciples,* and they take bread, and by consecration make a Metamorphosis of substance, and then aduise in their leud treatises how they may breake the white round accident of their Sacramentall Wafer without plucking and tearing asunder a legge or arme of Christ. These and the like blasphemies when to establish against our Wickliffe the Friers and Bishops had gathered themselves together at Poules in London, heare of that reuerend man what happened.

For I dare truly say, saith he, that if these things were sothe, Christ and his Saints dyen heretycks and the more parte of holy Kirke biledew now heretie. And therefore devout men supposen

that this counsell of Freris at London was with erydyn : for they put an heresie upon Christ and Sentis in heuene, wherfore the earth trembled, and (Faylande mans voice) answeread for God, as it did in time of his passion, when hee was dambned to bodily death.

The earth euer shakes when any violence is pretended to his body. After he had once yeelded up the Ghost of our mortality, his body resurrectiue both of himselfe and vs, by that signe leades captiuitie captiue. He cried with a loud voyce, and yeelded up the Ghost, and behold the vaille of the Temple was rent in twaine, and the earth did quake, and the stones were clouen, and the graves did open them-selves, and many bodies of the Saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection. *Joseph of Arimathea*, an honourable Senatour, desires in loue to conserue his body in a new tombe, which hee had hewed out in a rocke, and for that purpose rolled a great stone to the doore of the Sepulchre. The Priests and Pharisies assembled to *Pilate*, and to make all more sure, scale the stome, and gard it with a watch, but in the dawning of this day there was againe a great earthquake; The Angell descended from heauen, and rolled backe the stome from the doore, and sat upon it, and for feare of him, the keepers were astonied, and became as dead men. Aske our Stories, and also a third time when the Friers at London will imprison his body in bread, or drowne it in the Chalice, the earth shakes anew. Let vs therefore rather heare the voyce of the Angell vnto the women ; Surrexit, non est hic. *Iesus of Nazareth*, which on Good-Friday was crucified on the Crosse at *Jerusalem* by the *Jewes*; which is, so much as in them lies, still crucified by the degenerous *Romans* in their prostitute Sacrament : hee is risen, hee is not here, hee is entred into heauen, hee is made higher then the heauens, hee sits at the right hand of Maiestie in the glory and blisse of heauen. Gaze wee must not any more after a vision of Christ's body, vntill in a second fulnesse of time it shall please him againe to descend and repaire the ruines of this world into an eternall renouation. Euen at that time the powers of heauen shall be shaken, and wee shall see the Sonne of Man come in a cloud with power and great glorie. For the Lord himselfe, saith Saint *Paul*, shall descend

from heauen with a shout, and with the voyce of the Archangell, and with the trumpet of GOD ; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then shall wee which liue and remaine be caught up with them also in the clouds, to meeke the LORD in the aire ; and so shall wee euer be with the LORD. Wherefore comfort yourselves one another with these words. And againe, vntill the consummation of that day, reioyce in the mysterie of this, from the words of the same Apostle : *GOD is manifested in the flesh, iustified in the Spirit, seene of Angells, believed on in the world, and received up in Glory.*"

Turning now to the Poems, by far the most noticeable—and it is very noticeable—is that “of Shakespeare” from the folio of 1632. The first to assign it to JAMES was the late JOSEPH HUNTER, as follows in his “New Illustrations of Shakespeare :”—“Verses by J. M. S. on Shakespeare.—It has recently occurred to me, that a more probable conjecture than any that has yet been propounded is, that J. M. S. is *James, JAMES*; and that the author of these noble lines, so long sought in vain, is no other than Richard James, the Fellow of Christ’s College, Oxford, of whom we have had occasion to speak as affording a testimony respecting the substitution of Falstaff for Oldcastle, in the Play of *King Henry the Fourth*. (See vol. ii. p. 41.) James was a friend of Selden and Sir Robert Cotton, and exhibited in various ways that antiquarian and historical turn of mind which is visible in the author of the verses in question. He was also an eminent classical scholar, as the author of these verses appears to have been : ‘a very good Grecian,’ says Wood, ‘Poet, an excellent Critic, Antiquary, Divine.’ The only poem known to be his, with which I am acquainted, is a piece of familiar verse, entitled *Iter Lancastrense*,

soon to be published by the Chetham Society [published in 1845]. In this poem we perceive the same disposition to view every thing under its antiquarian aspect which we find in J. M. S., and there are in both poems the artifice of abrupt breaks in the midst of the lines of the English hexameter. I have not had time to seek out other poems by Richard James, the idea that he was the author of those lines having but just occurred to me. Other poems of his are in manuscript in the Bodleian. There is a promise of power, not unequal to that which produced this noblest tribute to Shakespeare yet paid to him, in the opening lines of a poem written in the time of his imprisonment, given by Wood—

“ ‘ Dear God, by whom in dark wombe’s shade
I am to fear and wonder made,’ &c.

At all events, I throw out the hint of this probability, which appears the stronger the more I consider it.”

Mr. Corser rejects the James authorship; but, as we shall see, on extremely weak and inexact grounds. He thus puts it:—

“ We have seen that James was intimate with one of the leading dramatists of the time. He was also a contemporary of Shakespeare, and it has been supposed that to him are to be attributed the noble lines ‘ On worthy Master Shakespeare and his Poems,’ signed J. M. S., which were first printed in the second folio edition of 1632. These initials have usually been assigned to ‘ Jasper Mayne, Student,’ but Mr. Hunter, in his *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, p. 310, has conjectured that J. M. S. is

JaMeS, and that the unknown author of this tribute to Shakespeare, is no other than our author, Richard James. We cannot but think this conjecture exceedingly unfounded and improbable, for though there is an obscurity and abruptness in some of James's Verses not very unlike the style of these ; yet there is no poem from his pen, not even the lines written during his imprisonment, which are at all equal in power or sublimity to the lines on Shakespeare. Moreover, it is nearly certain, that had they been written by James, they would have been preserved in his own hand-writing, among his other MSS., as every other piece of poetry that he wrote, even to the smallest epigram, is to be found in that collection. If Jasper Mayne was unequal to their production, we think that James was much more so. The former, we know, was a finished scholar ; and was also accustomed to that style of writing, (witness his lines prefixed to Cartwright's Poems,) and of which we have other verses by him, not much unlike them, though considerably inferior. It is on the last account that we should even doubt Mayne's title to them. It must be re-collected that, after all, the question is exclusively one of conjecture and critical judgment ; and, in the absence of any positive evidence, we should be almost inclined to believe that Milton may more reasonably be considered as the writer. Those verses are not unworthy the author of 'Paradise Lost.'"

To this I answer—taking the last thing first—

- I. That MILTON was not the author is demonstrated not

only by his reclaiming of every slightest copy of Veres that he had ever written, but specifically by his reclaiming other noble yet inferior anonymous Lines contributed to the same volume, and never these. It betrays singular unacquaintance with Milton's character to suppose that had he been the Author, he would have excluded such a poem from his collected Poems. And yet Mr. J. Payne Collier "feels morally certain" that the poem is Milton's !

II. JASPER MAYNE was equally careful with Milton in reclaiming his most fugitive productions ; but he has nowhere claimed this poem for his own. With his name in full to so much of uttermost trash—in Sermon and Play form alike and to trivial Veres—he was not the man to have lived on until 1672 without letting it be known that he was the author of this poem had he been so. No one who has read Mayne's productions will hesitate in pronouncing him incapable of such a poem. There is not a scintilla of its characteristics in all he has written.

Mr. Bolton Corney pointed out to Mr. Dyce the following :—

- (1.) On "Dr. Donnes death : by Mr Mayne of Christ-Church in Oxford," 80 lines, among the "Elegies upon the Author" appended to *Poems*. By J. D., with Elegies on the Author's Death, 1633 (4°).

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- (2.) Three copies of Verses in the following order,—
“To the Queene,” 12 lines; “To the King,”
36 lines; “To the Queen,” 48 lines,—the last
copy signed “Jasper Mayne, M.A. of Christ-
Church” in Vitis Carolinæ Gemma Altera five
Auspiciatissima Ducis Eboracensis Genethliaca
decentata ad vada Ifidis, 1633 (4°).
- (3.) A copy of (English) verses, 48 lines, signed
“Iasper Mayne M.A. ex Æde Chr.” in Musa-
rum Oxonensium pro Rege svo Soteria, &c.,
1633 (4°).

Be it observed in reference to all these that (1) they are signed in full by Mayne; that (2) in 1632 he was not a ‘student’ but a clergyman in full orders, whereas Malone’s and Corney’s interpretation of J. M. S. is Jasper Mayne, Student; that (3) the Verses are the poorest of the poor. (See Dyce’s Shakespeare, 3rd edit. vol. i. p. 169.)

III. It is not the fact that among the Bodleian MSS. he has “preserved in his own handwriting every other piece of poetry that he wrote, even to the smallest epigram.” My present collection of his Poems is proof of the contrary, e.g. his long poem of “The Muses Dirge” is not preserved among his MSS. or books. More important still, his poem on Felton and Buckingham, which most nearly approaches the Shakespeare poem, is not to be found there. And so with other things in verse and prose.

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- IV. The anonymity of the poem on Felton and the semi-anonymity of the poem on Shakespeare are to be accounted for by the circumstances under which they were composed. These were, in reference to the former, that it was perilous to avow sympathy with the striking-down of *the* Favourite, Buckingham; in reference to the latter, that in 1632 he was Rector of Little Mongeham, and might not care to have his name associated with a 'Play' book, or the theatre. Moreover, in 1632 he would not be at all wishful to be in men's mouths, as being still 'suspect' through the proceedings in connection with Sir Robert Cotton's and his own imprisonment. It is simple biographical-historical fact that from 1629-32 he elected to live in almost absolute privacy, seeking to be known only as a clergyman. I can very well understand therefore how he was led to think that it should open the mouths of the goody to be publicly known as the author of this tribute to Shakespeare contemporaneously with publishing "A Sermon concerning the Time of Receiving the Sacrament and of Mutuall Forgivenes," and "An Apologetical Essay for the Righteousnes of Miserable Vnhappy People." Both of these—be it noted—were published in 1632, the year of the second folio.
- V. J. M. S. as = James without the vowels was a semi-revelation to the friends he would inform, and it was customary for authors to give simply their surname,

e.g. Henry Vaughan the Silurist signs ‘ Vaughan.’ There is this also to be kept in mind that these letters J. M. S. answer to no known contemporary capable of writing the poem. John Milton and Jasper Mayne are placed out of court (*meo judicio*) by what I have brought forward *supra* (I.); but were it otherwise J[ohn] M[ilton], S[tudent], or J[asper] M[ayne], S[tudent], are far-fetched compared with JaMeS. *En passant*, there was nothing in the cases of either of these to call for anonymity. In James’s case there was everything (*ut supra*), not to say that one so disowned in ‘high places’ no Publisher would be very eager to make known.

- VI. The Bodleian MSS. show that James was used thus to contract names and words.
- VII. Granted to Mr. Corser, “that, after all, the question is one of conjecture and critical judgment.” But for my part I cannot imagine any one after studying James’s Poems in their recurring words and turns and pauses, and conceits and veins of quaint thinking, standing in doubt as to the James authorship of this poem. The poem on FELTON—on CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH—on his IMPRISONMENT—on BEN JONSON’s “STAPLE OF News”—and others of the Bodleian MSS. now first printed, I commend to the deliberate study of my Readers. Even in the somewhat chaotic pieces (in English) from his Letters, there will be found touches that exactly correspond with others in

the poem on Shakespeare. Summarily—Alike in its irregular greatness and defects, substantive strength and incidental weaknesses, powerful conception and partial failure of expression, thoughtfulness and impulsive ness, this remarkable poem carries in it the characteristics of RICHARD JAMES.

I am glad to be able to strengthen my acceptance of the James authorship with the well-weighed words of one who will be recognized by all as admirably qualified to pronounce a judicial verdict—my honoured friend JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq. F.S.A., Manchester. He thus writes in his Introduction to ROBERT HEYWOOD's “Observations and Instructions Divine and Moral” (1869):—“He [Richard James] was a poet, and a poet of no inferior order. It is difficult indeed to read his fine lines addressed to Felton without being *irresistibly led to the conclusion that the admirable poem on Shakespeare with the initials ‘J. M. S.’ in the second folio, and which still remains unsurpassed amongst the countless tributes to his memory, was the production of the same pen.*” Further: “This is scarcely the place to discuss the question of the authorship of these lines on which so great a difference of opinion has existed. The reader may, however, be referred for the lines addressed to Felton, to Sir James Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. p. 174, and Mr. Fairholt's *Poems and Songs relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham* (Percy Society, 1850). That the lines were written by James we have the contemporary evidence of Balfour, and the following passage

in James's poetical address to Albina (*Iter Lanc.* Introd. p. xli) clearly points to a future philippic against the Duke, from his pen, as the 'friend of Spain':

“Sometime to please your high disdain
I'll strike the mighty friend of Spain
With such growne vengeance as did ne'er
Beat from Alcæus quill the ear
Of Greeks.”

James's praise of Ben Jonson in his verses “On the Staple of News first presented” (“*Iter Lanc.*” Introd. pp. lxvi-vii) is quite as happy and well discriminated as that in the noble lines on Shakespeare:

“When vulgare loose their fight and sacred peers
Of poetry conspire to make your years
Of memory eternal, THEN BE READ
By all our race of Thespians.—Board and bed
And bank and bower, valley and mountain will
Rejoice to know some pieces of your skill.
Your rich Mosaic works, inlaid by art
And curious industry, with every part
And choice of all the Ancients.” (Pp. xviii-xix.)¹

Mr. Hunter has called attention to unauthorized ‘improvements’ of this poem on Shakespeare, as thus:—“This

¹ For few living Shakespearean scholars have I greater regard than Dr. Ingleby; but his suggestion that I. M. S. is == *In Memoriam Scriptoris*, needs only to be thought over for a few minutes to insure its rejection along with its supposititious rivalry with Jonson's poem. I admire that one so seeing as Dr. Ingleby should not perceive the incredible bathos of ‘*Scriptoris*’ from one capable of producing such a tribute. But see “Centurie of Praife,” as re-edited by Miss L. Toulmin Smith (1879), pp. 192-3.

poem, like that of James, has had the hard fate of being altered by injudicious editors, or rather of being corrupted, owing to the want, as it seems, of just critical acumen. A clause in it is usually printed thus:—

“ While the plebeian imp, from lofty throne
Creates and rules a world, and works upon
Mankind by secret engines; now to move
A chilling pity, then a rigorous love;
To strike up and strike down, both joy and ire;
To steer the affections; and by heavenly fire
Mould us anew, stoln from ourselves:—
This—and much more, which cannot be express'd
But by himself, his tongue, and his own breast,—
Was Shakespeare's freehold.”

As thus printed, the heavenly fire which moulds us anew is stolen from ourselves. But such was not the intention of the poet. It was Shakespeare's own heavenly fire which was to re-create us, to give us another life and soul, stealing us from ourselves. “ Stol'n from ourselves—” is a broken line. The poet was going on to describe the effect, but he checks himself, and goes on as we find it above. This will clearly be perceived to be his intention when we read the lines as they appear in the original edition—

“ and by heavenly fire
Mould us anew. Stol'n from ourselves—
This—and much more which cannot be expressed,” &c.¹

Next in importance and interest to the poems on SHAKESPEARE and on FELTON comes OCCLEVE's poem,

¹ “ New Illustrations,” &c., as before, vol. ii. pp. 311-12.

with James's epistle-dedicatory and notes and illustrations. The editors and commentators of Shakespeare, e.g. HALLIWELL, DYCE, JOSEPH HUNTER, &c. &c., have all referred to this MS.; and wherever SIR JOHN FALSTAFF is dealt with it has been less or more utilized. Yet, strange to say, ours is the first printing of it in integrity and completely. The story of the poem is a somewhat odd one. It was one of the poems in a MS. from Dr. Askew's library, which had formerly belonged to Prince Henry, son of James I. From this MS. MR. GEORGE MASON printed a Selection of Poems by Hoccleve (1796, 4°); but this poem he sapiently rejected on the ground of its length and because of its "being much more of a theological disputation than a poetical exercise"! This MS. has disappeared irrecoverably, apparently. Hence it is no ordinary good fortune that James had preserved the poem in his own transcript. Perhaps *per se* the poem has no special merit, nothing of genius; but in relation to Falstaff it must ever be valuable to the student of Shakespeare. Mr. Corser said of it—"We believe it has never yet been printed. The poem, however, accompanied with the notes of James, notwithstanding its length, is well deserving of publication by the Shakespeare or some other of our literary societies, both from its intrinsic value and the celebrity of its hero."¹

With reference to the Epistle-dedicatory, it proves that the famous obese knight of the "Boar's Head"—Sir John Falstaff—was originally named OLDCASTLE, and that he was

¹ Introduction, as before, p. lx.

known by this name up to (probably) 1628-29. There are other evidences of the change from SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE to SIR JOHN FALSTAFF—well brought together in Dyce's introduction to “The First Part of King Henry IV.” (Works, 3rd edition, vol. iv. pp. 204-5)—but perhaps James's Epistle “may be considered signally conclusive, and the most important document yet discovered connected with the subject.”¹

Of the “Iter Lancastrense” I gladly allow its first admirable Editor to speak, as follows:—“The *Iter Lancastrense* of James belongs to a very rare class of antiquarian relics, every specimen of which has its value. It is from such sources as these that those minutiae of county history which are the most difficult to meet with are derived ; and

¹ *Ibid.* p. lxvi. For the sake of those wishing to pursue the inquiry, I note the following additional books: (a) “The Character of Sir John Falstaff, as originally exhibited by Shakespeare,” &c., 1841 (12^o.)—by Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps; (b) Dr. Ingleby's “Centurie of Praife,” as re-edited by Miss Toulmin Smith, under Richard James and Falstaff; (c) Hunter's “New Illustrations of Shakespeare,” vol. ii., as before. I had intended quoting from John Weever's “Mirror of Martyrs, or the Life and Death of that thrice valiant Captaine and most godly Martyre, Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, Lord Cobham” (1601), and from “The first part of the true and honorable historie of the life of Sir John Oldcastle, the good Lord Cobham” (1600)—both in the Bodleian; but I found that they would lead me too far from my immediate subject. So I content myself with these references to them. George Daniel of Beafwick and Thomas Fuller and good old John Trappe blame Shakespeare for his (alleged) caricature. But there is often confusion between Oldcastle, Sir John Falstoff or Falstofe and Sir John Falstaff.

it is a relief to turn to them from the dry collection of facts and documents of which those works are in some degree necessarily composed.”¹

I attach special value to the snatches of description in “Iter Lancastrense.” I think WORDSWORTH should have read with admiration the verse-portrait of the solitary fisherman with whom the travellers fell in. It might have gone into “The Excursion.” There are other *bits* that will arrest and repay the pondering of the student-reader. “Iter Lancastrense” opens up a pleasant page of old-world old-fashioned friendship and journeying. As the penny-post is fast relegating letter-writing among the lost arts, so railways and modern hurry are as fast rendering leisurely, observant tours—with perpetual turnings-aside into hospitable mansion or cosy, unvulgarized inn—frowrfully rare. It does one good, I opine, to be carried back—as “Iter Lancastrense” carries us back—from present unrest into the tranquillity and large leisureliness of the past of Old Merry England. Since the first publication of “Iter Lancastrense,” it has been discovered that ROBERT HEYWOOD of Heywood Hall, was the host and companion of James; and that he was, in a humble way, a Poet, being the author of “Observations and Instructions Divine and Moral.”²

¹ Introduction, as before, p. xcvi.

² See this Poem as edited by Mr. Croftley, for Chetham Society, 1869. In his Introduction the Editor elucidates and supplements Mr. Corser’s pedigree of the Heywoods. Instead of reproducing that pedigree here, I now deem it sufficient to refer the reader to it and

The “Muses Dirge”—now first recalled to the light—is the most sustained of our Worthy’s poetic flights. It has the intrinsic interest of testifying to his loyalty to the Throne up to the death of James I. That was indubitable until then. Among his MSS. I came upon a prayer that had been offered by him prior to preaching in Oxford; and, certes, its supplication for the king and all in authority is effusive and specific enough, whatever may be thought of the taste of it. I do not care to draw it from its secrecy. That were a semi-sacrilege. But I note the fact. Later, under the egregious conduct of Charles I., James, in common with great contemporaries, was disenchanted and compelled to see that continued loyalty to such a king was synonymous with treason to the kingdom.

I would call attention to the direct appeal made not to Drayton and Ben Jonson merely, but to ‘Herick,’ to sing more worthy of the subject of the “Muses Dirge.” This is a new fact in the life of ROBERT HERRICK. That he was known so early as 1625 as a poet, while the “Hesperides” was not published until 1648 is in different ways noticeable.¹

Of the minor Poems I do not know that much needs to be said. His love-verses of and to Albina, and his commemorative verses of that love when she was wedded to

to Mr. Croffley’s Introduction. It was well to make out the pedigree once; but it does not seem needful to repeat it, seeing that, after all, Robert Heywood was simply the host and fellow-traveller of James in so far as “Iter Lancastrense” is concerned. So with other names in it.

¹ See page 121, l. 17.

another, have a graciousness and elegance that if indefinable pleases. Others have quaint intermeddlings with philosophic data based on readings of “the red-leaved and confused book of the heart,” that will reward thinking out, albeit I confess the stream of the thought pellucid at first is apt to lose itself in a quagmire of formless words.¹ This latter remark holds of a number of the Poems from the Bodleian MS. No. 35. I like very much his little sacred poems. They seem to me strong and sweet, weighty and musical. I should wish to see them take their place in our Christmas festivals; for which to-day, with a few priceless exceptions, the poetic provender is thin enough. His Latin poems have a certain elegance, but lack finish. They are mechanical rather than inspired.²

Such is all I feel it necessary to say of RICHARD JAMES in connection with the present volume. In bringing my introduction to a close, I would confirm my own judgment and estimate with the well-weighed words of Mr. James Crossley, F.S.A., of Manchester:—

“ We are much indebted to my friend Mr. Corser for his researches in reference to Richard James, and for the labour he has bestowed upon the *Iter Lancastrense*, a poem which

¹ James's MS. as a rule is not hard to decipher, but some written out in evident haste have puzzled myself and others. So that I can't be sure that I am always correct in my reading.

² One queries whence he got ‘Lucretius’ in the heading of the poem that he translates from the Notes on Isidore? The MSS. show that his Latin verse was all written in hot haste: hence his inadvertent slips.

will always deserve attention as one of a class of which unfortunately we have too few. What is now wanted is a careful collection, from various sources, of Richard James's poetry, with a new memoir of him, for which additional materials exist, and from which many fresh facts and illustrations might be derived from a patient examination of the forty-three volumes of James's MSS. all in his own autograph, which are deposited in the Bodleian library, and which comprise one volume of letters to various correspondents.”¹

I would only add that having with all ‘patience’ examined and re-examined the whole of the Bodleian James MSS., I regret that Mr. Crofley’s expectations were not realized by me. The MSS.—exclusive of the Poems recovered and now printed—are mainly of importance in relation to his great work of the “Decanonizatio.”

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

A P P E N D I X.

See page xliv.

“There was one Richard James, a short, red-bearded, high-coloured fellow, a Master of Arts, who had some time resided in Oxford, and had afterwards travelled—an atheistical, profane scholar, but otherwise witty, and moderately learned. He had so screwed himself into the good opinion of Sir Robert Cotton, as whereas at first he had

¹ Introduction to Robert Heywood’s “Observations and Instructions Divine and Moral.” Chetham Society, 1869, p. xvi.

only permitted him in the use of some of his books, at last, some two or three years before his decease, he bestowed the custody of his whole library upon him. And he being a needy, sharking companion and very expensive, like old Ralph Starkie, when he lived, let out or lent out Sir Robert Cotton's most precious manuscripts for money, to any that would be his customers, which Sir Robert was wont to lend freely to his noble and loving friends: which I once made known to Sir Robert before the said James's face. Amongst other books he lent out, one Mr. Saint John of Lincoln's Inn, a young studious gentleman, borrowed of him for his money a dangerous pamphlet that was once written in hand, by which a course was laid down how the kings of England might oppress the liberties of their subjects, and for ever enslave them and their posterities. Mr. Saint John shews the book to the Earl of Bedford, or a copy of it, and so it passed from hand to hand in the year 1629, till at last it was lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who set a young fellow he then kept in the house to transcribe it, which infallibly proves that Sir Robert knew not himself that the written tract itself had originally come out of his library. This untrusty young fellow imitating, it seems, the said James, took one copy secretly for himself when he wrote another for Sir Robert; and out of his own transcript sold away several copies, till at last one of them came to the Lord Wentworth's hand of the North, now Lord Deputy of Ireland. He acquainted the Lords and others of the Privy Council with it. They sent for the said young fellow, and examining him where he had the written tract, he confessed Sir Robert Cotton delivered it to him. Whereupon in the beginning of November of the same year, (1629), Sir Robert was examined, and so divers others one after the other, as it had been delivered from hand to hand, till at last Mr. Saint John himself was impeached, and being conceived to be the author of the book, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, being in danger to have been questioned for his life about it. Upon his examination upon oath, he made a clear, full, and punctual declaration, that he had received the same manuscript pamphlet from that wretched mercenary fellow James, who by this means proved the wicked instrument of shortening the life of the said Sir Robert Cotton. For he was presently

thereupon sued in the Star-chamber, his library locked up from his use, and two or more of the guard set to watch his house continually. When I went several times to visit and comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me they had broken his heart that had locked up his library from him. I easily guessed the reason, because his honour and esteem were much impaired by this fatal accident, and his house, that was formerly frequented by great and honorable personages, as well as by learned men of all sorts, remained now upon the matter desolate and empty. I understood from himself and others, that Doctor Neale and Doctor Laud, two prelates that had been stigmatized in the first session of Parliament in 1628, were his sore enemies. He was so outworn within a few months with anguish and grief, as his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well-coloured, and such as the picture I have of him shews, was wholly changed into a grim blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage. When I afterwards read in the great and most elegant Latin History of Monsieur James de Thou of some learned men who deceased with grief after their libraries had been pillaged and spoiled by the violence of war, it made me call to my sad remembrance the loss the Commonwealth had in our judicious Cotton; and it might well induce me often to pray that if by tyranny or injustice, my library should be wrested from me, I might account it but a creature comfort, and so submit to God's will in it with patience and humility. I heard it certainly affirmed, that the young fellow whom Sir Robert Cotton kept in his house, and had employed to transcribe the said written tractate, was his bastard; which shews God's admirable justice, to cause the spurious issue of his fatal lust to prove the immediate instrument of his final ruin. I at one time advised him to look into himself, and seriously consider why God had sent this chastisement upon him; which it is possible he did, for I heard from Mr. Richard Houldsworth, a great and learned divine that was with him in his last sickness, a little before he died, that he was exceeding penitent, and was much comforted in the faithful expectation of a better life.

“ He left Sir Thomas Cotton, his son and heir, wholly addicted to the tenacious increasing of his worldly wealth, and altogether unworthy to be master of so inestimable a library as his father. For

he promised me on Monday, the 16th day of this month in the forenoon, when I went to visit him after his father's death, (of which he talked smilingly, without the least expression of sorrow or resentment,) that he would lend me some manuscripts I should need for the furthering of the public work I was about; yet ever when I sent to him, but for one old book of Saxon Charters, into which were fastened and pasted divers originals or autographs, which he had particularly promised to communicate to me, he put me off with so many frivolous excuses or feigned subterfuges, as I forebore further troubling any messengers."

I.

ITER LANCASTRENSE.

1636.

NOTE.

The *Iter Lancastrense* was edited and printed for the Chetham Society, by the late REV. THOMAS CORSER, M.A., of Stand, Lancashire (1 vol. 4^o. 1845, pp. cxii., 84, and 1 page errata). Like everything our lamented friend did, this was a labour of love, and which nothing but love of labour could have led him to introduce and annotate so copiously as he did. Mr. Corser's rule was, that whatever was worth doing at all, ought to be done, thoroughly and well. Perhaps his *Iter* work was a hobby: and some may say it was over-ridden. Be it so, in the gentlest and unblaming sense! None the less is the book a *quick* memorial of a full mind, wide bookish tastes, and inestimable patience of search and research. Mr. Corser published comparatively little, but what he undertook he so did that it never had to be re-done—as, alas! so much has to be in editing and bibliography. It was inevitable, therefore, that in Notes and Illustrations I have had to draw largely on his. They are indicated by the letter 'C' added to each. Those having 'A' similarly appended, have been furnished to me by the Historian of Blackburn, my friend MR. W. A. ABRAM, of Blackburn. Those with 'G' are mine. We have unitedly supplemented certain points from later authorities than were available to Mr. Corser. Having carefully collated the original MS., the text is purged of some pardonable mis-readings and mistakes of the 1845 text. See our Introduction for more on the *Iter*.—G.



Iter Lancastrense

RICHARDI JAMESIJ.

*

From ye varietie of their
name writte in ould evi-
dencies all theis coojectures
are probable.



IGH holte of woods, or haye enclofd with
woods,
Or woddie Isle surrownded with fierce floods
Thy antique bounds; from whence so ere
thou haue

Birthe and death are
equally y^e gifts of nature;

he yt^e is of other minde shall
never be quiet.

Peers Ewood, with many
other gentlemen ther-
aboutes, had land given unto
them at y^e same time by
Adam de Berrye; y^e charters
of which donations are yet
extant. Theis charters are
anciently call'd books, and
signe of a free tenure.

Theis were not chief Lords,
but free men, whoe after grieu-
to great worhippe. Whence
Chaucer in his character of
ye Frankelin—
At fessions there was he Lord
and Sire.
Full ofte there he was Knight
of y^e Shire.

Thy name, I bleffe y^e Heywood, wombe and graue.

The board and bed vnto thy ofspringe be

Kinde of their seasons with tranquillitie.

Thou bookland Heywood, lett each aged Sire

To well growne children y^e with lightsomme fire

Deliver gift of Berries Lord, when peeres

Rejoicid in men, not onely in their steeres

And towne-devouring sheepe, aboute y^e date

When second Harrie, mightye was of state.

The Lords him followd to y^e wars, and they

With their bolde Francklins dowbted not y^e day

Of battle; men each other knowing voyd of strife,

Honour resolvd to winne, or looze their life.
 Fulchis of Crew in Cheshire, thy braue worde
 Once spoken doth to after times afford
 Worthy example: when in dismal fight
 A horse was offerd to secure thy flight
 And leave thy fellowes to à bloodie field,
 If their stoute couradge did refuse to yeeld,
 Thy wordes were, ‘ Hether, trustie friends, we came,
 And, if we doe not gaine, weelee looze no fame:
 Goodwives of Nantwitch and their daughters shall
 Nere houle aboute me for their kindreds fall.’

20

Such is ye tradition of him
 at Crewe once his Lord-
 shipe now in ye possession
 of St Randall Crewe. Everie
 storie speaks ye manner of
 Talbot's death. Theis Tal-
 bots before their Erdom were
 auncient rich Barons of this
 kingdome, whence one of of
 them tis sayd, dstitutus baro
 totius Angliae, and so no
 doubt but they came branely
 attended into ye wars.

So he, so Talbot, France's terrour, dide,
 Because they would not from their fellowes ride.
 Such times were those which never heard ye crye,
 ‘ Break open ranks for now my Lord doth flye.’

30

Free Lords free tenants loud; againe they trye
 To loue their Lords in life and memorie.
 Ashton of Middleton, to ye I went
 From my deere Heywood once, and there I spent
 One space of leasure, to behould and see
 The fairenesse of thy seate, and courtesie;
 In which we kindly fed, slept, rose againe
 Next daye, with other views to entertaine
 Free welcomme, and summe miles beyond thy home
 Mounted vpon thy horses we did rome,

40

Vnder thy guidance, to à Roman waye
 High cast yet standing, as perchance it laye
 From YORCK to CHESTER. Aufins voice is true,
 Empire condignly was to Romans due.

Quâ causâ Deus Romanos
 secundâ quandâ formam ter-
 renâ civitatis bonos adjuverit
 ad [antiqui] imperii gloriam
 consequendam.—dedit mer-
 cedem bonis Romanorib[us]
 terrenam gloriam excellenti-
 fimi imperij. Aug. Civ. Dei,

Nic. Bergier à French
lawyer hath writhen a lardge
historie of theis Roman high
wayes.

Peradventure theoce in ye
North à Roman forte is calld
Rifingham. Reus, or Refe
in Dutch signifies à giant,
and our old storyes say in a
mistake from hence yt giants
anciently inhabited this land
and built their cities vpon
high hills.

Aunciently people did not
vfe to burye in ye citties,
much lesse so frequently in
churches. Luther's advise in
this point is not only civil
but alſo prefervative to ye
health of citties. See alſo
of this William Zepper in
his ecclesiastical policy, how
monaſtical avarice brought
funerals to ye church. See
Rivet and Beza.

* The excellent prince
Thomas Howard Duke of
Norfolk with bowmen of
England flewe King Jamye,
with many a Noble Scottie
euen braunt [=brave]t
against Floddon hill, in which
batell ye ſtoote archers of
Cheshire and Lancashire for
one day beforewad to ye death
for their prince and Countysake,
hath gotten immortall name and praiſe for ever.
Aſham in his Schoole of
ſhootinge.

Of ye wearing haire long
or short, Galen hath à verie
fine diſcours. See alſo Lycur-
gus proverb of it in Plutarch.
terribilis quidam præſe fert
densu Gallor et Scythar capili-
litū. Clem. Alex.

Our wayes are gulphs of durte and mire, which none
Scarce ever paſſe in ſummer withoute moane.

Whilſt theirs through all y^e world were no leſſe free
Of paſſadge then y^e race of Wallifee,
Ore broken moores, deepe moſſes, lake and fenne,
Now worcks of Giants deemd, not arte of men.
On theis their ſtages ſtood their forts and tombeſ ;
They were not onely ſtreets but halydoms :

So did their buiſneſſe ſpeeđe, and armyes flye
From Eaſt to West, like lightning in the ſkye.

Now goe we to y^e church of Middleton,
To finde out there ſumme glorie of our owne.
At chardge of thoſe good men, whoe went out far
In ſuite of our braue Ashton to y^e warre,
There ſtands à painted windowe, where I weene
The ſhowe of their departure may be feene :
The Lord and Ladye firſt in ſkarlett ; then
One neere attending of y^e chiefeft men ;

60
Their garments long, his ſhort and bließe, behinde
The chaplaine of y^e warfare you may finde
In robe of y^e ſame colour, for to ſay
Before an altar praierſ of y^e daye
On bended knees ; him followe neighbours bould,
Whoe doe bent* bowes on their left ſhoulders hould,
Their girdle ſheathe with arrowes ; as y^e ſquire
So are they all, courtmantells in attire

70
Of blewe ; like Greeks in Trojan warre, their haire
In curles long dangling makes y^e femblance faire
And ſterne ; each hath his name, and people tell

With such camarades as
those of which Lanoue
speakes yo commendation in
his militarie discourses, all
our auncient wars were
fought, and so it continued I
believe vntill ye dissolution
of Abbyses, vppon ye lubbers
of which preffing beganne to
be suffered. They were so
many fit for no civil courfe
of life yt Bishop Hooper in
a sermon complaines, how
twentie men could hardly
packe safe together vppon ye
high wayes. The former ser-
vice was either by tenure
or by agreement, whence in
ye pell offices are yet manie
obligations extant betwixt
ye King y^e Nobles and Gen-
try of ye Land.

That on y^e same lands now their children dwell
As yet so called. Lanoue, thy camarades
Of men theis were, which feare would never, shades
Of death in warlike service ; Agincourt,
Cressy, Poitiers, and Floddon field reporte
Their mighty acts, such as were never donne
Greater by Roman or y^e Macedon.
Were I y^e gentle Ashton, theis shoud be
In pourtrait honour of my pedigree :
I would in statue or in table make
A commelye niew remembrance for their sake,
And lett y^e state learne from my Auncestrye
What course is fitteſt deeds of warre to trye,
Not men of meanest ranke, whoe preſt putt on
Withoutte à ſhirte, à poore mandillion,
Whoe in despaire of life more* willing goe
Vnto y^e gibbett then againſt y^e foe.

Middleton, adieu ! y^e ſetting funne doth trace
Far to y^e West, and wee to Heywood pace,
Where dairie worck goes forward, fairies spinne,
And of their feres good housewife praises winne.
Ladyes of Courte and Cittie dames, not fleere,
Because I praife my virgins for this gheere :
This worck, this gheere, if ſtoryes do not faine,
Was donne by daughters of great Charlemaine :
This doing keepes them in a liuely heate,

And ſtill preserves à ſtomack to good meate :
They are not lazie, queazie, wanting breath,
Nor in a wan fainte palenesſe boording death ;

Filios quam primū ætas
patiebatur more Francoru
equitare, armis ac venationi-
bus exercitū fecit: filias verò
sanctifico affuertere, coloq. ac

80

90

100

sufo, ne per ocium torpescerent
operam intendere, atq; ad
oem beneficium eruditij justet.
Eginbarus de vita et rebus
gestis Caroli Magni. Secundum
Vives de xpiana feminina. Sed
feminam faith he, nullo modo
placeat mihi artū que manus
bus tractantur imperitam esse;
ac ne principem quidem, aut
Regiam. Quid enim aliud
potius ager aut melius vacua
domesticis negotiis? Confabulabitur
scilicet cum viris
aut alijs feminis. Quibus de
rebus fūmper loqueret? nun
quam conficeret? At cogi
tabit quis? celer est cogitatus
feminae ac fete inconfitans,
vagus, peregrinus, nescio qua
lubricitate devolvatur sua,
etc.

They covett not as you to cloye their tripes
With coles, lome, ashēs, foule tobacco pipes:
Happinesse attend them if they marrye,
And comme lovers whoe not loue to varey:
I wish loue constant.

110

Lett us varie sportes
Whoe are at leasure, and seeke new resortes
For recreation. Ormeschurch and y^e Meales
Are our next journey; we direct no weales
Of state, to hinder our delight. Y^e guize
Of those chaffe sands, which doe in mountaines rize,
On shore is pleasure to behould, which Hoes
Are calld in Worold: windie tempest blowes
Them up in heapes: tis past intelligence
With me how feas doe reverence
V^ro y^e sands; but sands and beach and peobles are
Cast up by rowling of y^e waues a ware
To make againt their deluge, since y^a larke
And sheepe within feede lower then y^e marke
Of each high flood. Heere through y^e washie sholes
We spye an owld man wading for y^e soles
And flukes and rayes, which y^e laft morning tide
Had stayd in nets, or did att anchor ride
Vppon his hooks; him we fetch vp, and then
To our goodmorrowe, ' Welcomme gentlemen,'
He sayd, and more, ' you gentlemen at easē,
Whoe monye haue, and goe where ere you please,
Are never quiett; wearye of y^e daye,
You now comme hether to drive time away:

120

130

Both christian and heathen
writers mention y^e reverence
of y^e sea unto y^e sands, but
God's providence needs not
any such weake prooves. The
sand and peobles are indeede
rowld up by y^e sea, and so
about Winchelſey, Dele,
and many other places, y^e sea
doth as it were make a fence
against it self. Chrysostome
vies y^e worde of reverence
and Minutius Felix sayes
nearely, mari intende, legi
litoris fringitur. But to thole
whoe haue viewed y^e site of
sea and land tis apparent y^e
if God had not made other
fenſes of high rocks and
shores, a reverence of sands
would not keepe y^e feas
from drowning all.

Must time be driven? longest day with vs
 Shutts in to soone, as never tedious
 Vnto our buisnesse; making, mending nett,
 Preparing hooks and baits, wherewith to gett
 Cod, whiting, place, vpon y^e sandie shelvs,
 Where with to feede y^e markett and our selvs.
 Happie ould blade, whoe in his youth had binne
 Roving at sea when Essex Cales did winne,
 So now he liues. If any Busshell will
 Liue weft y^e world, withoute projecting skill
 Of ermitage, he shall not neede to seeke
 In rocks or Calve of Man an ember weeke:
 Heere at y^e deserte Meales he maye, vnknowne,
 Bread by his owne paines getting, liue alone
 Withoute à callott or à page to dresse
 Or bring bought meate vnto his holiness.
 But haste we back to Ormeskircke, leaft, I feare,
 Our friends deparate, and leaue vs in y^e reare;
 And home to Heywood, whence I joy to tell
 Our next new fallie to y^e holye well,
 Foure miles beyond Flint castle, where our age
 Doth yet behould à doting pilgrimadge.
 Authors, y^t legends write and holye tales
 Without book, say y^t whilom dwelt in Wales
 An amorous young prince called Caradoc,
 The sonne of Alaine, borne of Royall stock,
 Enflam'd with loue of fairest Winefride,
 Lord Thebith's daughter, whoe had promised
 Vpon Beunous preaching, to liue aye

140

150

Gilbert de Stone being for
 ys time a trimme man of his
 peyne, was follicited by ys
 Monks there to write their
 founder's or Saints life: when
 he required summe memories
 of him, they had none at all.
 Wherefore in a letter of his,
 he says tis no matter, for he
 would write them notwithstanding
 a fine legend after
 ys manner of Thomas of
 Canterbury, and certainly
 moche legends are written
 after ys manner of Gilhert.

A vottall virgin till hir dying daye. 160
 But, when hir parents vnto Church were gonне,
 Into y^e house came Caradoc anonne,
 And, as he fownd hir setting by y^e fire
 Vndrest, he quickly opend his desire.
 To which she mildely sayd, ‘ pray, Sir, lett be,
 Vntill my parents from y^e church you see
 Returnd ; you are y^e prince, and soone may gaine
 Their good consent to make their daughter raigne
 A Queene by mariadge : better cloathes I will
 In y^e meane while putt on, for to fullfill 170
 Your lawfull pleasure.’ To hir chamber so
 She went, and soone doth through à posterne goe
 To save hir self. She fled, he did pursue ;
 Loue grieved to rage, and forth his swvard he driew,
 With which at one blowe, with an angrie looke
 Hir louely head he from hir bodie tooke.
 The head fell downe, and tumbling rowled was
 Into y^e Temple where y^e priest said mafs :
 Beunous was y^e priest ; so ghastly fight 180
 Sett him and all y^e people in à fricht :
 Yet takes he vp y^e head, and marches on
 Vnto the bodie with proceffion.
 Curse falls on Caradoc, and he with it
 Doth vanish forthwith to infernall pitt.
 The holye man doth often kiffle hir face,
 And then it aptly on hir body place.
 Bothe coverd are with mantle, till he goe
 Againe to church, and end his masse belowe,

* See Euseb. de prepar. lib. 4, cap. 2, for the Ethnic and now Roman superstition doe much agree. Cogita vero ipse tecu, faith he, exempla vetera reperedo, quam iti ſape, cum affecta valetudinis hominibus, rubor, vitam, ſalutemq. pmifſent, iſſque potenſe non fecu ac dijs fides habetur, paulo poſt ingenti pecunia vi ex hoc afflata divinitus mercatura [genere] corrugata, quales tandem eſſet, manifeſte depreheſtuerit, impotentes ſcilicet ac circulatores, non autem dij cum decepti ab ijs homines infauſti extum babuſtent. Quid porro attinet dicere, ne popularibus quidem ſuis, et ciuium ſecum ciuitatis indigenis vates egregios quicquiam praefidij vel opis afferre, cum infinitos ibidem videtis morbis laborantes, claudos, caecos ac toto ſape corpore mutilatos? Quid verò in eaſa fuerit, cur peregrini quidem homicibus, et ex longinquā regione ventientibus rerum meliorum ſpes quadam umbratibus ac fucatas offendenter ciuitas autem popularibusque ſuis nou item, quibuscum tamē eos vtiope domesſici amicis, ac ciuibis derivatum ex numinum praefentia bonum communicare oportet; niſi quid extra nos homines veterotariorum calliditatem ignaroſ facilius in errorem, quam alioſ ſibi notoſ ac familiareſ impellentur, quiſe qui artis buiſi imperiti non eſſent, fed vitiate iudicationis optime conſej? And hence it is y^e St. Godric and St. Thomas are ſayd to have made a bargaine y^e Godric ſhould cure y^e South, and Thomas y^e North peoples' difeaſes. But for truth Harrye y^e eight cured bothe their imputures.

See Gabriell Powell in his annotations vpon Giraldus his ſurveye of Wales.

First breathing in hir nostrills ; by which breath,
At their retурne, ſhe raiſed is from death
As from a ſleepe, he praying, and y^e men
Who there came with him, ſaying, ‘ Lord, Amen ; ’
And raiſed is as perfitt as before,
Saving y^t all hir after life ſhe wore
A circle in y^e juncture white as milke,
Which feemde to view, à thread of fineſt filke:
And ſo, not loozing aught but in hir name,
She thence from Breuna Winefride became.
With Britaines wen is white ; but stained red
Still are y^e ſtones where ravifht was hir hed
From of hir bodye in à fountain cleere,
Which at this cruell deede did firſt apeere ;
Since curing each difeaſe, each ſore and grief
In thoſe which of this Ladie ſeeke relief.
Reade Surius and Baronius, whoe more
From Thomas Afaph's Bishop keepes in ſtore.
But Capgraue ſayes, and truth he ſays I weene,
All things y^t are related are not feene.
Nay, here we fee,* y^e lame, y^e halt, y^e blinde,
Bothe rich and poore, no health can ever finde,
And manye pilgrims dye vpon y^e place,
Whoe on their bare feete ſeeke hir healing grace.
Nay, nothing of y^e name of Winefride
Is in Giraldus or Galfridus read,
Whoe y^e survaye did write and y^e ſtorie
Of their deere Wales, in which they glorie.
Theis learned clercks of Wales of hir knew naught,

190

200

210

Of Elerius and Robertus
Salopiensis see Iohn Bale;
&c.

Or waud such tales as Salope Robert brought;
They neither him nor yet Elerius cite,
Though summe men say they bothe of hir did write. 220
But here to Templers cell were monkes put in
Vnder our second Edward : then beginne
Theis craftie fables: stories they invent;
They purchase pardons which from Rome are sent;
They build à structure, chappell, cloysters rownd
Aboute y^e well, to put of [f] cloathes they founde
A joining roome: in seventh Harrye's time
And in Queene Marie's; with such toyes they chime
Much people in with coyne to buye no health,
But to encrease their Greene-field Abbyes wealth. 230
The smocks which now for bathing we doe hire,
Were then belike theis monks rent and desire.
From natures secrett poets storyes faine ;
Naught els of poets doe theis monks retaine.

This faire cleere springe, which courses through y^e hills
Conveys summe mettall tincture in hir rills,
Which they make staine of blood.

But now the tide

Hath left y^e sandes, and we to Chester ride:
Chester a Roman station, where are fownd
As yet summe of their reliques vnder grownd. 240
The Romans hypocaults did vse, where heate
Of fire putt vnder made them kindlye sweate
Aboue; y^e bricks of such worke, lardge and square,
In knowing Whitbyes house preserved are.
Theis drie baths were of antique times y^e cure,

There is another spring ten miles distant from Wenefrid's well, where are fownd flooies in great number spotted in ye lame manner, summe of which Mr. Tredeuant shewes, given vnto him by Sr. Iohn Trever. As theis springs staine their peobles red so Wellingborowe waters make things yellowe, and bothe haue their caufe from nature not historye.

Which doe in manye countries still endure,
And from my owne experiance to be plaine,
I thinke no waters are so soveraigne.

For is not pittie y^e poore
wenches shold be putt to y^e
shife of abortions, molaes,
and so manye murders of
their owne infans, as this
forst Virginitie did enforce
them to. See Vrlick's epistole
to Pope Nicholas and ye re-
pentance of Gregorie y^e great
in this pointe after he had
fownd six thousand infants'
heads in y^e foing of his fish-
ponds ; see more of this in
Honorus Augustodun. and
Clemangis.

Of bucks and does, strainge beasts with peeled crowne,
Were whilom manye cloysters in y^e towne. 250
'Twas well contriud ; when Friers were so nigh,
I hope no sisters did of molaes dye ;
Of which diseafe y^e Jew Amatus sure
Hath writh as well y^e pittie as y^e cure.
Fond fals imposture ! can man's wisedomme haine
The stremes of Dee from gliding to y^e maine ?

Ethelbert did put Ethel-
fride vpon y^e action by y^e
initiation of Austin y^e
bloodie moncke, as it is cleere
out of y^e translation of Bede
by King Alfred into y^e Saxon
toungue, howsover y^e Latin
copies haue it now quamvis
ipfa jam multo ante tempore
ad Cælestia regna translato,
see Life in his AÆlfric. See
Mafon and Jewell. There
was a great confipacie of
religion to defroye y^e Brit-
tanes, and to this way alfo
Gildas was no small traitour.

They came with their
flage and crofes and having
converted him into his wife's
religion, he furrenders to
them y^e whole power of Can-
terbury and retires himself to
Roculvers in Tenet, inciting
blood and warre vpon y^e
Brittanes whoe would not sub-
mitt themselves to y^e infol-
ient pride of y^e Roman
church. The Brittaines under
y^e Romans subfifted still bothe
in lignage and landguadge,
but y^e Saxon Christianitie
desroyed both men and
wordes, according to y^e
Monks counfell unto Philip
king of France, y^e he shoulde
desroye all y^e Greeks books

Three miles from Chester lyes à common heath,
Famous as yet with people for y^e death

Of Bangor Monkes, whoe came to bleffe y^e fight
Of Brockmail Chester's Consul, put to flight

By Ethelfride Northumbrian king : from farre
He came, incited to à bloodie warre

By Ethelbert y^e king of Kent, to slaye

The Christian Brittaines, scorning to obeye

The pride of Rome in Austin, whoe with flight
Had made that foolish prince his profelyte.

Malice, rage, murder, and confusyon

Markes are of Romish superftition :

Rome plants in blood, blood makes her thrive wee see ;

The Turke to Christians is more milde then shee.

America, thy wofull tragedie,

Was not more fell then this of Brittanie

In lignage and in landguadge. Austin's worde

From Catnys to y^e Mount puttis all to swoard.

250

260

270

as well as their persons. See
in Malmeburiens à confi-
deration of theis Saxons who
they were better men in
their Christianite or their
gentilite; for I much dowthe
whether Rome makes Chri-
stianide of manners.

Foule forcereſſe of Rome, I leaue thy heape
Of bloodie crimes to God's revendge and threape.

'Penigent, Pendle hill, Ingleborough,
Three ſuch hills be not all England thorough.'
I long to climbe up Pendle; Pendle stands,
Rownd cop, furvaijng all y^e wilde moore lands,
And Malkins toure, à little cottage, where
Reporte makes caitive witches meeete to ſwearre
Their homage to y^e diuell, and contrive
The deaths of men and beaſts. Lett whoe will dive
Into this banefull ſearch, I wonder much

If judges ſentence with belief on ſuch
Doth paſſe: then ſure th[e]y would not for lewd* gaine

Bad clients fauour, or putt good to paine

Of long purſuite; for terrorre of y^e fiend

Or loue of God they would giue cauſes end

With equall juſtice. Yet I doe confeſſe,
Needs muſt ſtrange phansies poore ould wiues poſſeffe,

Whoe in thoſe deſert myſtie moores doe liue

Hungrie and colde, and ſcarce ſee priеſt to giue

Them ghostlye counſell. Chuſches farre doe ſtand

In lay mens hands, and chappells haue no land

To cheriſh learned Curates, though Sir Jhon

Doe preach for fourre pounds vnto Haselingdon.

Such yeerely rent, with right of begging corne,

Makes Jhon à ſharer in my Ladys horne:

280

290

300

As Comineus fays of
Princes, they wold not be
extremi vppon their ſubjeſts
if they did believe y^e God
tooke cognitione of their
actions. So I ſay of judges.
If they did thiſke there
were a Diuell, no earthy
hope or fear could make
them doe ſuch things as in
feverall ages times complain
of them. And how ever y^e
truthe be, thoſe poore wreſtches
finde pittie and apologie from
manye. Whence Ewich y^e
ſeed phyſician of Breſe. Im-
piæ venientia que vulgo
trygges appellantur, graven
quidem pñam merentur, et
ſi multis in locis nimis te-
merè, et nonnunquam ille-
gitime Liceat mihi id hoc
loco obiter dicere, fatis, eoin
hanc cauſam hodie viri erudi-
ti diſcrepatum tractari con-
ſuerunt, frigidam aut potius
ſocū ſuffundente Molocho qui
taibus holocaustis defecari
ſolēt.

An alewife ſo called, ſhe
hath y^e horne of plentie ac-
cording to all.

* Of y^e French lawyers and judges wickedneſſe, ſee y^e great
chancellor of France Michael Hoſpitalius in his epiftle to Faber and
to y^e Cardinal of Loraine, to Mariliac y^e Arch Bp. of Vienne.

You may see this at a
place callid ye stucks in Wo-
ruld.

Lith. v. de bello Gallico
he says. Materia cujusque
generis, vt in Gallia est, praes-
ter fagum atque abietem.
And it seemes Caesar did en-
quire all things of y^e Coun-
try when in y^e same place
he could say Nactur ibi
plumbū album in mediter-
aneis regionibus. And their
mines were after much wld
by y^e Romans, whoeo at
Cafelton a Roman sepulcher
lately found had much led
ore in it.

Torellius Sarayna. Gor-
pius, Paliffi, and divers others
have wrift of this subiect. See
also Fulgoius. Mr. Rowit
aliof Pertenhall in Bedford-
shire hath y^e rigg hole of a
whale petrified, round vnder
y^e arches of St. Neot's bridge.
he now vies it for a salt-
feller. See many like things
in y^e cabinnes of Hubbard
and Tredescant, y^e later of
whome hath binne my fel-
lowe traveller. For y^e yvorie
found in y^e northerne partes
of y^e Ruffian Empire tis y^e
constant relatio[n] of y^e wood-
men there whoe goe forth at
certaine times to kill heares
wolves etc. and y^e Emper-
our Rodolphus the lapidarie An-
selmus Boetius writes of y^e
petrified unicorn's home,
which is y^e home of a fish,
manie of which it seemes y^e
finds buried in y^e maine
land.

* See of theis things more
in Septalius his treatise de
margaritis, and Wemherus
de admiranda Hungaria
aqua.

See Thevet's cosmogra-
phy, where he hath a spe-
ciall discourse of y^e vnicorn.
But I doubt not but y^e as

He drinks and prayes, and fortie yeeres this life
Leading at home keepes children and à wife.
Theis are y^e wonders of our carelesse dayes :
Small store serves him whoe for y^e people prayes.

But greater wonder calls me hence : y^e deepe
Lowe spongie mosses yet remembrance keepe
Of Noah's flood : on numbers infinite
Of firre trees swaines doe in their cesse light ;
And in summe places, when y^e sea doth bate
Downe from y^e shoare, tis wonder to relate
How many thowfands of theis trees now stand
Black broken on their rootes, which once drie land
Did cover, whence turfs Neptune yeelds to shewe
He did not allways to theis borders flowe.
We reade in Cesar y^t no firre trees grieve
Within this Isle, if what he write be triew.
But sure I am, y^t growing heere, or sent
With storme of seas, theis are an argument
That God, offended with earth's crimes, did raine
Till all once drownd was in a hurling maine.

Hence, tis* Sarayna, y^t on hills we finde
And inland quarries, things of sea borne kinde,
Wilks, cockles, oysters : threescore miles from wale
Of sea at Conyngton was found à whale
Vppon à high downes browe, whose ribs and bones
With chance and time were turned into stones ;
And ofte earth's bosomme yeelds y^e rich prizd hornes
Of counter-poyson sea-fish vnicornes.
What shall I speake of southerne yvorie

310

320

others so he and his Turcke
are deceivd in taking it for
a land heast, when our North-
east and Greenland disco-
verers have proovd this
hornd beast to be a fishe.

Which yet feas vaft doth in Pechora lye ?
Such changes doe from y^e great deluge springe,
And fire shall all to y^e oulde Chaos bringe.
Meane while y^e works of nature and of arte
To view and weigh, it is my pleasinge parte.
I Hubberts and Tredescants ernest prize,
Whoe not of second notions doe devize,
Where endles prate doth vainlye beate y^e eare,
But to no worth our vnderstanding reare.

At Norton Abbye, now y^e Brookses land,
Twice big as life Saint Christopher doth stand,
One giant stome, and in Hale chappell wee
Againe him painted with saint George do see

See in Aschams epistles
how y^e wifer Greeks take y^e
storye of St. George but for a
resemblance, although now
for a long time they wor-
shipp him as a man with
pifle and gospel and holly-
day; for all which there is
no more warrant than y^e
meere legend. According
vnto which at this daye they
shewe pilgrims y^e verie place
where ye Kings daughter was
deliverd and y^e dragon slaine
by him. See Mounfeur Bre-
nis his relation, and other
itineraries of y^e holye lands.
wherefore I maye not vn-
seemely parallel St. George
with Saint Sundaye in y^e
South crafement of Wickham
Church.

In y^e East windowe. Hylin, lett thy penne
Once more from hence prooue y^t theis shews were men :
And I from Wickham, if he be not nesh,
Will fetch Saint Sunday to make vp a lesh
Of retrivd Saints ; and George for Sunday stand,
Or els he feares y^e strong Maypolian band.

Such things I fawke and thought, in Lancashire,
At Heywood hall to trading Rachdale neere.
My safe bould harbour Heywood, much I owe
Of praise and thanks to y^e where ere I goe.

I love y^e men, y^e countrye, and y^e fare,
And wish heire my poore fortunes setled were,
Far from y^e courtes ambition, citties strife,
Reposd in silence of à countrye life,
Amongst y^e Dingles and y^e Apennines,
Whose safetys gaue occasion to ould lines

330

340

350

Thus riming, ‘ When all England is alofte
 Then happie they whose dwelling’s in Christ’s crofte ; ’ 360
 And where thincke you this crofte of Christe showld be
 But midst Ribchesters Ribble and Mercy ?

My passadge hether I not liste to tell,
 Though then I fawe Saint Anne of Buckstones well
 Hot with à.chimney ; for springs colde and warme
 Rising together doe y^e bathing harme.

At Casteltoun y^e waters nature strainge,
 Which in same day doe divers vertues chainge,
 Long-sownding Elden hole, and Pooles vast caue,
 The leadmens grooues who liues of mole-warps haue, 370
 The loftie Winyates, and wall-tiding springe,
 His worships breech and mystes, I leaue to finge ;
 I leaue, because I finde my Muse to weake
 To sing with arte y^e wonders of y^e Peke.

To my two hoasts of honour, Chetwyn, Crewe,
 Whose feates and bountyes our returne did viewe ;

To y^e young heyre of Speke, in Stevens right
 Whose old Sire did y^e standards battle fight,

And from whose house and name of late were seene
 Two chiefs of warre vnto our mayden Queene ; 380

To Rigby of y^e Hut, where to our cheere
 We plentie had of clarett ale and beere ;

To Sander Butterworth, whoe ledd me cleane
 Through all y^e cataracts of Healo dene ;

To Robin* Howorth, from whose familie
 Great Noble peers derive their progenie ;

To Roman Nowell, Alhton of Penkith,

Bothe auncient and moderne writers mention springs ebning and flowing like y^e sea, but they are deceivd. They indeede have vncertaine spaces of running and sealing, but no contant courfe with y^e sea : in Wales see y^e like.

* The Howorths are a gentle familie according to Aristotle, because they haue had *αριστούς μάνων* being in Edw. y^e I. time prefered to be Lords of Howorth castle, yet in parliamentian pardon of Henr^ey^e sixt^e time y^e words runne thus, Relaximus Thomas de Haworth in com. Lanc. yoman alias dio Thomas de Haw^e de Rache-dale in com. Lanc. yoman, alias dio Th. de Haw. de Todmerden in com. Lanc. yoman, alias dio Th. de Haw. de Todmardene in com. Lanc. gentilman, quocumque nomine censatur omnino modis transgressiones. Otherwise as themselfes reporte they haue another name, at their comming in with y^e conquerour.

Of Novellus Tricongius a Milianec read Plinie, lib. 14, cap. 22; accordingly this gentleman’s armes are for fume hundreds of yeeres ye three cups. But y^e vertues and auncient demeanes of their house giue them a fairer glorie. So y^e I should not willingly fetch their pedigree

from a drunkard, and ye cups
may rather be a signe of hof-
pitalite, three Christmas
cups: for Noelle in French
signifieth Christmas, of which
name there be alio gente
families.

Ireland of Hale, to all my Heywoods, with
Brock, Holcroft, Holt, this journall poeme fends
Greeting, and faire observance:—so it ends.

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Hoc iter Lancastrense
fecit scripsitq;
Richardus Jamesius Vectensis
An. Dñi. 1636.



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

HINE 1, ‘*High holte of woods.*’—The reference is to the name of Heywood, near Rochdale, in Lancashire, and its probable etymology. The ancient spelling was *Eywode*, which is understood to describe, in Saxon words, the wood bounded by the water. The site of the modern town of Heywood, when the name was given, was occupied by a large wood which covered the high bank overlooking the river Roch. Heywood Hall, the old seat of the family of Heywood, occupied the edge of the cliff, and from the garden hedge the descent towards the stream is very abrupt. The Hall passed, in 1717, from the last of the Heywoods to John Starkey, gent., who rebuilt the house as it now stands in 1722. There are other two places in Lancashire identically named originally with this, viz. Ewood Bridge, which is the name of a hamlet beside the Irwell, a little to the south of Haslingden, and Ewood in Lower Darwen, near Blackburn, on the left bank of the Darwen river, which in deeds of the fourteenth century is spelled *Eywode* or *Eawod*. The popular pronunciation of each of these

names is to this day an echo of the Saxon name, being founded short Eawod or Awod.—A. ‘*Holte*’ = an enclosure, still used in provincial dialects for a small plantation; a wood or grove; but see *Promptor. Parvul.* ed. Camden Soc. and Mr. Way’s note thereon: vol. i. p. 244.—C. Nares, *f. v.* makes ‘*holt*’ = A wood. Saxon. Sometimes a ‘high wood’; but the latter is surely a mistake. For invariably the adjective is added when a ‘high’ wood is described. He thus corrects the Glossary to the Reliques (vol. i.): “Bishop Percy says, sometimes it signifies a hill; but in the passage he quotes from Turberville it clearly means no more than a high wood.

“Ye that frequent the hilles and highest holtes of all.”

True; but ‘highest,’ not ‘holtes’ *per se*, yields the meaning a ‘high wood.’ In the text there is a play on the ‘Hey’ of ‘*Hey-wood*’ in ‘high’, as also in ‘*haye*’ in the same line.

—G. *Ibid. ‘haye’*.—From the Ang.-Sax. *hæg*; a hedge or fence; a toil to enclose wild beasts in.—C. Nares says—‘Originally a hedge; from *haie*, French. Also, a kind of net to catch rabbits, chiefly by enclosing their holes as with a hedge.’ “A connie-catcher is one who rules warrens and connie-grounds, pitching his *haies* before their holes.”—Minshew. He quotes also Wyatt, Sylvester, and Ben Jonson. But neither the meaning ‘hedge’ nor ‘toil’ fits the text. We do not speak of a ‘hedge’ as ‘encloſd with woods’, though we do of a wood enclosed with a hedge; nor is a ‘toil’ or maze thus spoken of. Is it not simply ‘*hay*’ in its ordinary fense, and so = grassy fields or meadows?—G.

Line 2, '*Or woddie Isle surrounded with fierce floods.*'—The river Roch, which, in time of continued rains, is a deep and dashing current at this spot, runs circuitously at the base of the hilly ground upon which Heywood stands, on the north and west sides, on its course to join the Irwell at Radcliffe below Bury.—A.

Line 4, '*Heywood, wombe and graue.*'—The Poet bestows his laudation upon the spot as the mother-soil of the race of the Heywoods, and also their place of sepulture from remote generations.—A. See our Introduction on the Heywoods generally and the Author's friend Robert Heywood in particular.—G.

Line 5, '*board and bed.*'=bed and board or entertainment.

Line 6, '*Kinde,*' i.e. by nature. See marginal note.—C. So Shakespeare in *Titus Andron.* (ii. 1), "Fitted by *kind* for rape and villainy" = natural disposition. Or, Is there an astrological reference, and '*Kinde*' = Kin?—G.

Line 7, '*bookland Heywood.*'—A 'bookland' or bokland in former time was a term equivalent to a freehold. See the note in the margin explanatory.—A.

Line 9, '*gift of Berries Lord.*'—The reference—as noted in the margin—is to the grant made by Adam de Byry, Lord of Bury in Lancashire, by undated charter, probably near the end of the thirteenth century, to Peter de Hewode of 'one part of the land called Hewode' within specified bounds; which was the source of the possession of the estate by the Heywood family. But the grant was later than the reign of 'second Harrie' mentioned by the Poet.—A. The reader who cares for such lore will find

the original Latin charter *in loco* in Mr. Corser's edition of the *Iter Lancastrense*.—G. · *Ibid.* ‘peeres.’—There is a punning play on the name of ‘Peers Ewood.’—G.

Line 11, ‘*towne-devouring sheep*.’—A hint that in those days the territorial lords had become indifferent to the condition of the tenantry and peasantry on their estates, and cared only for the increase of their cattle and sheep.—A. The same complaint has been made since, e.g. in the depopulation of vast districts of the Highlands of Scotland for deer and other game. I found in the backwoods of Canada Sutherlandshire Highlanders kindling into rage and denunciation of that policy that robbed Scotland of her ‘men’ that beasts and birds might take their place. Bitterly, yet also pathetically, would they add, ‘perhaps we'll be miffed some day when most needed.’—G.

Line 14, ‘*bolde Francklins*.’—Nares, *f. v.* deserves a place here:—“ A freeholder or yeoman, a man above a vassal, or villain, but not a gentleman. But the usage varied. ‘ Not swear it, now I am a gentleman? let boors and *franklins* say it, I'll swear it.’ (*Wint. Tale*, v. 2.) ‘ There is a *franklin* in the wilds of Kent hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold.’ (1 *Henry IV*. ii. 1.) ‘ Provide me presently / A riding suit, no costlier than would fit / A *franklin's* housewife.’ (*Cymb.* iii. 2.) In the following, it seems to mean a kind of waiting gentleman, or groom of the chambers :

‘ But entered in a spacious court they see, &c.
Where them does meet a *franklin faire* and free,
And entertaines with comely courteous glee.’

SPENSER, F. Q., I. x. 6.

Thus low was the estimation of a *franklin* in the reign of Elizabeth. In earlier times he was a personage of much more dignity, and seems to have been distinguished from a common freeholder by the greatness of his possessions. Chaucer's *frankelein* is evidently a very rich and luxurious gentleman ; he was the chief man at the feffions, and had been sheriff, and frequently knight of the shire. See *Cant. Tales*, v. 333, and Mr. Tyrwhitt's note upon it." The latter part of this note is confirmed by that in the margin. Mr. Corser quotes "the whole character" in Chaucer (ll. 333-362), "as there is a better reading of this passage in Tyrwhitt's Edit." [i.e. the couplet cited in the margin] ; but as every book-lover is familiar with the passage, it is not deemed needful to give it here, especially as the alleged 'better reading' is simply the substitution of 'time' for 'there.'—G. The Heywoods were of the class of *franklins*, and doubtless some of them followed their chief lord, the Lord of Bury, to the wars in the early period referred to.—A.

Line 16, 'looze' = lose, i.e. pledging themselves to 'lose' their 'life' rather than 'lose' honour.—G.

Line 17, 'Fulchis of Crew in Cheshire.'—This was Sir Robert Foulshurst, whose wife Elizabeth, d. and sole heiress of Thomas Praers of Barthomley, brought to him the manor of Crewe in Cheshire. He was one of the four esquires of Lord Audley at the battle of Poictiers, in 1356. He died in 1390. James gives the story of his heroism as a local tradition. It is not recorded in Froissart.—A.

Line 25, ‘*Goodwives of Nantwich*.’—Nantwich is the nearest town to Crewe, about four miles off; and Crewe, which is now a large railway town, was hardly a hamlet when Foulsehurst flourished, so that the soldiers who fought under him would chiefly be the husbands and sons of the ‘goodwives of Nantwich.’ This explains the brave squire of Crewe’s resolution.—A.

Line 27, ‘*Talbot, France’s terroure*.’—John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, farnamed for his bravery the English Achilles; of whom Hall in his *Chronicle* says:—“This man was to the French people a very scourge and a daily *terrror*, insomuch that as his person was fearful and terrible to his adversaries present, so his name and fame was spiteful and dreadful to the common people absent; insomuch that women in France, to feare their young children, would crye, the *Talbot* cometh, the *Talbot* cometh.” And Edward Kirke, in his *Glosse or Commentary on Spenser’s Shephearde’s Calendar*, 4to, 1579, remarks, in his notes on the month of June, that “the Frenchmen used to say of that valiant captayne, the uerie scourge of Fraunce, the Lorde of Thalbot, afterwarde Erle of Shrewsburie, whose noblenesse bred fuch a terroure in the heartes of the French, that oft tymes euen great armyes were defaicted and put to flight at the only hearing of hys name. In so muche that the French women, to affraye theyr children woulde tell them that the *Talbot* cometh.” See also York’s *Union of Honour*, p. 72. *Battels*.—Thus Shakespeare:

“In open market-place produc’d they me,
To be a publick spectacle to all;

Here, said they, is the terror of the French,
The scarecrow that affrights our children so."

K. Henry VI. Pt. i. act i. sc. 4.

"The scourge of France !

— The Talbot, so much feared abroad,
That with his name the mothers still their babes."

K. Henry VI. Pt. i. act ii. sc. 3.

—C. The same 'terror' was long a living legend of *Richard Cœur de Leon* of England in the East, in connection with the Crusaders, as Scott remembers in *The Talisman*. I have heard numbers still living say that in Scotland 'Boney' (= Bonaparte) was in their young days a name of 'terror' for children and older. So too with Wellington in the Peninsula, and Napier in India.—G. *Ibid.*, 'dide,' *i.e.* died.—C. Mr. Corser has an elaborate note (pp. 26-28) on this illustrious hero.—G.

Line 28, 'Because they would not from their fellowes ride.'

—It is probable that the author, in this passage, had in view the affecting scene between Talbot and his son, described by Shakespeare in the *First Part of King Henry VI.* act iv. scene 5. It is thus alluded to by Yorke, in his *Union of Honour* (p. 266, ed. 1640):—"It is said by some, that when they were in this fight," at the siege of Chastillon, "and that the Earle John perceived that he could not escape, hee admonished his sonne, the Lord Lisle, to fly, saying, thou mayest revenge my death afterwards; unto whom he answered, it shall never be said, that your sonne shall flie, whilst his father is fighting."—C.

Line 33, 'Abton of Middleton.'—James here records a visit he made, starting from the house of his dear friend

Robert Heywood, to Ralph Ashton, of Middleton Hall. By an old by-road, the ride from Heywood Hall to Middleton Hall was about four miles. Ralph Ashton was among the most considerable gentry in that part of Lancashire. He was thirty-one years old in 1636, when visited by the Poet. In the Civil War, from 1642 to 1648, he was one of the principal figures on the side of the Parliament in his county, and he rose to the rank of Major-General and to the first command in the county militia. He died in February, 1650-51. His having taken the Poet to see the remains of a contiguous Roman road, suggests that Ralph Ashton had a taste for antiquarian studies before he embarked upon the adventurous life of a soldier.—A. Mr. Corser gives a very full account of the Ashtons or Ashton (pp. 28-32). He has also engraved the monument of the Parliamentary commander and his wife from a tracing of the original in Middleton church. These being thus already accessible, I have preferred giving Middleton church itself, never before—it is believed—engraven. It remains very much the same as when James saw it. I am indebted for the photograph, after which my etching has been made, to my friend Mr. W. A. Abram of Blackburn.—G.

Line 34, ‘*my deere Heywood*.’—See our Introduction on this.—G.

Line 36, ‘*The fairenesse of thy seate*.’—The Hall has been demolished, and the site has been converted into building lots.—A. Mr. Corser writes pathetically of the destruction of the ‘seate.’ It was situated a little to the south of the church.—G.

Lines 41-42, ‘*a Roman waye*,’ &c.—Remains of the Roman roads were apparent in several places in the district around Middleton in the seventeenth century, but most of them have now been effaced. The ‘waye’ that the Poet rode in company with squire Aßheton some miles from Middleton Hall to inspect, was doubtless a section of Roman road at Hollingwood, near Oldham, a portion of the military ‘waye’ of the Romans between Mancunium (= Manchester) and Cambodunum (= Clifton or Kirklees), the site of which latter station is a little to the south of the modern town of Huddersfield. There were other Roman roads in connection with this from Manchester to Chester, and from Cambodunum to York. So that James was not astray in his conjecture, ‘as perchance it laye from Yorck to Chester’ (ll. 42-3). The expression ‘high caſt yet ſtanding’, indicates that in 1636, when the Poet ſaw it, the ridge of the Roman *agger* was plain at this ſpot.—A. See also Whitaker’s *History of Manchester*, f. v. and the *Archæol.* vol. i. art. xv. p. 62 (1770, 4°).—G.

Line 43, ‘*Auftins*’ = St. Augustine.

Line 44, ‘*condignly*’ = deservedly, according to merit.—

C.

Line 45, ‘*Our wayes are gulphs*,’ &c.—A graphically accurate description of all the roads in Lancashire in the seventeenth century, and for more than a century afterwards; wretchedly ill-paved and undrained, full of deep ruts and holes, and ſoon reduced in rainy weather to mere ‘gulphs of durte and mire.’ Even in ſummer, as the Poet adds, ſcarce any paſſed over them ‘without moane.’

The Roman causeways fifteen centuries earlier had been very different.—A. Italy shows to-day Roman roads as found and solid and smooth as when made two thousand years ago and upwards. What a glorious ‘road’ and drive it is along the Appian Way from or to Rome !

—G.

Line 48, ‘*ye race of Wallifee.*’—Ormerod, the historian of Cheshire (vol. ii. pp. 195, 261-2), thinks the reference is to the Wallesey race-course, which in the Autobiography of Adam Martindale (Chetham Society, p. 227) is spoken of as ‘Wallafie-Race,’ visited by the Duke of Monmouth in 1682. Wallesey is situate in the hundred of Wirral, co. Chester.—A. See Mr. Corser’s note *in loco* for further details with reference to the margin-note on ‘Reus’ or ‘Refc.’—G.

Line 50, ‘*Now worcks of Giants deemd.*’—The farmers and peasants in country districts where the Roman roads can be traced, still speak of them as the work of (mythical) giants or of diabolic agency. In some places the roads still bear the name of ‘devil’s pad.’ These roads were so old and so far ahead of popular tradition that the common folk assumed they could not have been made by ‘arte of men.’—G.

Line 52, ‘*Not onely streets but halydoms.*’—The Romans were used to place monumental stones to dead celebrities by the sides of their great causeways in the vicinity of their stations, so that these words are = depositaries of hallowed relics, before referred to (l. 51).—A. This custom explains the pathetic appeals of Latin epitaphs and other

inscriptions, continued by our own Poets, e.g. Crashaw and his contemporaries. Mr. Corser refers to Bosworth under 'Haligdom' (Anglo-Sax. Dut. 34).—G.

Line 55, '*y^e church of Middleton.*'—Middleton parish church stands upon a small hill near the road from Rochdale to Manchester, which there forms the main street of the village. The church is an interesting building, chiefly of the Tudor period, having been rebuilt by Sir Richard Assheton in 1524 as a memorial, like the church at Hornby in Lunesdale built by Sir Edward Stanley, of the great victory over the Scots at Flodden Field in 1513, when Sir Richard and his bowmen of Middleton fought under the standard of Sir Edward Stanley. But the church had existed before from Norman times; and is named A.D. 1291.—A. Mr. Corser quotes at great length from the old poem of *Flodden Field, in Nine Fits*, of which there have been half-a-dozen editions from 1644 to 1819.—G.

Line 59, '*There stands a painted window.*'—This 'painted window' is still preserved, though mutilated and displaced. Mr. Corser gives in his edition of the *Iter* coloured plates representing two parts of the window, the one displaying the effigies of Sir Richard Assheton and Dame Anne his wife, with the date 'A.D. 1524'; the other, in two divisions, representing the kneeling figures in blue gowns of the following persons, whose names are inscribed above:—Henry Taylyer, Chaplain, Richard ? Richard Kylld [? Wylde], Hughe Chetham, James Gerarde, John Pylkynton, Philipe Werberton, William Stele, John Scolefede, Wylliam James Taylier,

Roger Blomele, Christofer Smythe, Henry Whitaker, Robert Prestwyche, Richard Berwick, and John Seddon. The Poet's description of these yeomen and others agrees with the 'painted window.'—A. It was well to have the fragile memorial so far put out of hazard of perishing, by the 'coloured plates' in *fac-simile* furnished in Mr. Corser's volume; but a very slight study of the faces satisfies that there was no attempt at portraiture. They are wholly conventional and impossible human faces. Those of Sir Richard Afsheton and his wife have a more natural look, and may have been taken from the originals or some family portraits. As before stated, I have preferred to a reproduction of these an etching of Middleton church itself (facing title-page).—G.

Line 70, 'courtmantells.'—A curt or courtmantell means simply a short mantle.—C.

Line 74, 'On y^e same lands,' &c.—In the century and a quarter which had elapsed from the date of Flodden battle to that of the visit of James, there had been no failure of descent or breach in the occupation of the lands held by any of these Middleton men who had gone forth with Afsheton to the war.—A. Some of the names are still extant in the neighbourhood and over the county—most in humbler circumstances. Mr. Corser *in loco* gives entries of 'a number of the names from a Subsidy-Roll for the Hundred of Salford of 1505.'—G.

Line 75, 'Lanoue.'—Francis de la Noue, an eminent warrior and statesman, was born in Bretany in 1531. He was early trained to arms, and distinguished himself as a

soldier in various countries. He was at the siege of Orleans in 1567 ; at the battle of Jarnac in 1569 ; and at the taking of Fontenoy, where he received a wound in his left arm which rendered amputation necessary ; and its place being supplied with an arm of steel, with which he was able to manage his bridle, he derived from thence the surname of Bras de Fer (Iron Arm), which he bore ever after. He served also in the Low Countries, where he rendered great assistance to the States-General, but was taken prisoner in 1580, and detained by the Spaniards in prison for five years. During his confinement he employed himself in literary occupations ; and composed his *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, first printed at Geneva in 1587, 4to, and at Basle in the same year, in 8vo, and since frequently reprinted. He continued to serve with honour under Henry IV., and was at last killed by a musket ball, at the siege of Lamballe in 1591. La Noue was a follower of the doctrines of Calvin in religion, and was one of the earliest writers, if not the first, who advocated unlimited toleration of all religions. He was also against the practice of duelling. An English translation of the *Discours Politiques et Militaires* was published in the same year in which they first appeared abroad, under the title of "The Politicke and Militarie Discourses of the Lord de la Novve ; whereunto are adjoyned certaine observations of things happened during the three late Ciuell Warres of France : all faithfully translated out of French by E. A." London, 1587, 4to.—C.

Lines 75-77, 'thy camarades,' &c.—The construction

of the latter part of the sentence is,—‘ which would never fear shades of death in warlike service.’—C.

Line 83, ‘*in table make*’—i.e. picture.—C. On panel.—G.

Line 88, ‘*mandillion*.’—Nares thus explains the term :—“ A soldier’s cloak or cassock. A loose cassock, such as soldiers used to wear.—*Blount*. It was called also a *mandevile*. The name was derived from the Italian. [Mandiglione, a jacket.] “ A loose hanging garment, much like to our jacket or jumps, but without sleeves, only having holes to put the arms through ; yet some were made with sleeves, but for no other use than to hang on the back.”—*Randle Holme*. He illustrates with quotations from Chapman, Sylvester, Dekker, and Copley. The Poet is severe on his spiritless and unpatriotic fellow-countrymen (ll. 89–90). And yet only a few years onward the Civil War revealed of what splendid fighting stuff, well-led, the community were.—G.

Line 92, ‘*Wee to Heywood pace*.’—The Poet’s stay at Middleton, as the guest of Squire Assheton, seems to have been limited to two days ; on the first of which he enjoyed the hospitalities and courtesies of Middleton Hall, and on the second rode over the country with his host, visited the Roman ‘waye’ about Hollingwood, and returning spent the afternoon in the inspection of Middleton church and its memorials. About sunset he bade Mr. Assheton farewell and returned to Heywood Hall.—A.

Line 93, ‘*Dairie worck*, &c.—All the dames and daughters were busy with house or dairy work, as well at

the Hall as in the farmhouses which then occupied the tract over which the cotton-spinning factories and town of Heywood now extend. Women, whatever their degree, in these northern counties led no indolent lives when these lines were written. Dairies were kept at the houses of the gentry and yeomen, in which the female members of the household did their part, and, except in the larger halls, little was left to hired maids. Others of the daughters sat at the spinning-wheel, spinning flax, and the matrons were fully engaged in the duties of housewifery, in such a manner as to win praises from their 'feres' (husbands).—A. Are novel-reading and higher middle-life and upper ten *ennui* an advance on these 'good old times' ways? I for one trow not, albeit a living Florence Nightingale and her many followers, make us proud of the beautiful and unselfish devotion to 'work' on the part of our contemporary woman (better word far than 'lady').—G. *Ibid.*, 'fairies spinne.'—See Brand's *Popular Antq. s.v.* for this bit of Folk-lore.—G.

Line 95, '*Cittie dames, not fleere.*'—The Poet asks that Court ladies and City dames who might read his verses would not 'fleere' or mock because he praised the Lancashire maids for their work and 'gheere.' 'Gheere' refers to the articles of dress and other simple surroundings of the dames and daughters of Heywood.—A. The contrast between these healthy, blooming, happy Lancashire female friends and the fashionable London folks, is graphically made. There may have been a *soupçon* of exaggeration; but the quaint accusations and insinuations of the city-

ladies let in a vivid ray of light on their ways of living.—G.

Line 97, '*faine*'=feign. See Todd's *Johnson, s. v.*—G.

Line 102, '*boording*'—*i.e.* mocking.—C. Such doubtless is a meaning of the word (= jesting); but here it seems = accosting, inviting, *i.e.* death. Our present use of the word 'boarding,' *i.e.* living and receiving bed and board, seems (*meo judicio*) nearer the meaning. With their unnatural likings for 'coles, lome, ashes,' &c., they virtually invite and entertain Death.—G.

Line 109, '*Ormeschurch and y^e Meales.*' In order to visit Ormskirk and the North Meols on the Lancashire coast, James, and his friend Robert Heywood, would require to perform a journey from Heywood Hall of some thirty-five miles across the country, by way of Bury, Bolton-in-the-Moors, and Wigan; but the Poet makes no note upon the objects of interest *en route*, which would have rendered his itinerary of Lancashire more systematic and less fragmentary than it is in his poem. The journey was taken leisurely, the object being, as he says, to 'seeke niew reportes for recreation;' and he exults in the reflection that he and his friend 'direct no weales [wheels] of State, to hinder' their delight. Of Ormeschurch (modern Ormskirk) he has no account to render, although it was and is a quaint little town, containing an ancient parish church quite as interesting as Middleton, with the mortuary chapel attached of the Stanleys of Lathom House and of Knowsley. Not until he reaches the sea-shore does he commence to

describe the features of the coast and country of Lancashire.—A. Mr. Corser explains ‘y^e Meales’ thus—“Perhaps so derived from Meol, a heap or pile, a conical hill, a towering hill with its top smooth, or void of rocks and woods. See Owen’s *Welsh Dic̄t.* 8vo edition. 1803. It is probable that Meales or Meols may be the district of sand hills with reference to the British word Meol.”

Lines 111-12, ‘*Y^e guize of those chaffe sands,*’ &c.—These lines depict with much fidelity the aspect of the coast between Churchtown and the site of the handsome modern town of Southport, in the parish of North Meals, and Formby Point, a few miles to the south in the direction of the mouth of the Mersey at Liverpool. He found the views of those ‘chaffe sands’ [in opposition to wet sands] which did ‘in mountaines rize’ along the shore, pleasant and striking to behold. For ages windy tempests had blown them up in heaps ; it was beyond conception to the beholder, how the sea thus paid homage to the shore, shaping it by its own action into a frontier barrier against its own inroads ; for the sands and pebbles cast up by the force of the waves in times of storm contribute ‘a ware’ or weir, or embankment, to repel their own deluge at the high tides, which would otherwise sweep into and swamp the low flat moss-land inland. This paraphrase of the Poet’s picture of the coast in question needs no addition to its detail to render the image vivid to the reader.—A.

Line 113, ‘*Hoes are called in Worold.*’—Hoes from How, a mountain, mons. See Lye’s *Dic̄t. Sax.*, Bosworth’s *Anglo-Sax. Dic̄t.*; *hoga*, a how or hoe, a term

applied to small eminences as well as greater ones. *Tumuli* are so called in several parts of England. We find it appended to Clider-how in Lancashire, Fox-how in Westmoreland, and Pen-how in Monmouthshire. But see more on this word How or Halgh under Dunken-halgh, in Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, 4to, 3rd edition, 1818, p. 407; Thoresby's *Duc. Leod.* by Whitaker, vol. ii. p. 129, on the word Gled-how, and p. 276; also under How-royd in Watson's *Hist. Halifax*, p. 161, and Baker's *Hist. Northampt.* p. 543, under Ayn-ho. The chief difficulty appears in the application of expressions referable to hills of so much loftier a character to the petty range of star hills or sand hillocks, such as we see on the coasts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales.—C. *Ibid.*, ‘*Wrold*,’ i.e. Wirral in Cheshire.—C.

Line 120, ‘*Sheepe within*,’ &c.—Behind the natural embankment of the sand-hills, the land stretches eight or nine miles into the interior of the county in a perfect level, lying so low that when James visited the place some 3,600 statute acres of it were submerged, forming the bed of the swamp-like lake called Martin's Mere, which had been created by the accumulation of drainage water prevented by the ridge of sands along the coast from discharging itself either into the sea or into the river Douglas near its mouth at the northern verge of the Mere. The Mere was drained out and all the land brought into cultivation by means of works commenced in the year 1692, by Mr. Fleetwood, of Bank Hall, and completed towards the close of last century by Thomas Eccleton, Esq. A

main sluice or canal now carries the water drained off these flats forward to the sea, and is protected by massive sea-gates ; but at the highest tides the sea water rises considerably above the level of the lands reclaimed and protected by these important works. Thus the Poet's statement that sheep feed on pasture-ground lower than the mark of each high flood, is correct. Mr. Eccleston, who reclaimed the lands, states that the Mere was ten feet lower than high-water mark at the spring-tides.—A.

Line 121, '*y^e wafshe sholes.*'—The sea is very shallow for two or three miles from the shore at North Meols, and abounds with shoally places and extensive sand-banks, upon which ships drifting landward during storms in this portion of the Irish Channel not unfrequently run aground and are lost.—A.

Line 122, '*an owl man,*' &c.—Soles, flukes, and ray are still the most common fish taken in the nets of the fishermen along this part of the coast ; and these, conveyed by hawkers to the interior towns of the county, find a ready sale. This old fisherman whom the Visitors meet and salute, seems to have been something of a philosopher. He took the visitors for country gentlemen of easy fortune, sauntering down to the sea-side, whose major difficulty was how to kill time and get the days over :—" Wearye of *y^e daie*, you now comme hether to drive time away " (ll. 129-130). Poor fishermen had no time to dissipate. The longest day with them shut in too soon, what with the endless tasks of making and mending nets, preparing hooks and baits, and the actual operations of fishing, catching

(besides the above-mentioned soles, flukes, and ray) such fish as cod, whiting, and plaice, upon the ‘sandy shelves’ of the fishing beds hereabouts; wherewith to feed the markets and themselves. Centuries back the land upon this coast produced so little before the marshes were drained, that even those who held as freeholders or tenants-at-will a patch of land, were often more fishers than farmers; as the latter, doing no more than keeping a cow or two for milk and butter, and a few sheep to feed upon the short herbage in the hollows between the sand-hills; and perhaps growing a few roots for family use.—A. See our Introduction on this ‘happie ould blade.’—G.

Line 138, ‘*Roving at sea when Essex*,’ &c.—The expedition of the brave and accomplished Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, in company with Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, to Cadiz or Cales as it was then called, took place in 1596. In this expedition Essex was the commander of the land forces, and is said to have thrown his hat into the sea for joy, when the Lord Admiral, after some delay, at length consented to attack the Spanish Fleét. The enterprise proved completely successful, the city being taken, and the Spanish Fleet destroyed. For his services in this Cadiz affair, the Queen created Essex Earl Marshall in 1597.—C. Like Shakespeare, Richard James goes out of his way to honour Essex—a suggestive fact.—G.

Line 140, ‘*If any Bushell will live weſt y^e world*,’ &c.—Thomas Bushel, in order to try how far a life of severe

abstinence would promote longevity, retreated to the Calf of Man (an islet about three miles distant from Port Erin, in the Isle of Man), and made it his abode in the reign of James I. In that dreary and melancholy solitude he appears to have died ; for not only is a small ruinous building still shown, which is called Bushel's house, but also a place on the top of an adjoining rock, named Bushel's grave.

"This cemetery is most curiously constructed in the form of a cross, containing two cavities six feet long, three wide, and two deep. Immediately on the edge is a wall of stone and mortar, two feet high. The whole is roofed and slated ; but except the before-mentioned application of this repository to the purpose of sepulture, no probable conjecture has been formed of the use or design for which it was constructed. The rock itself is only accessible on one side, and is called the Eye or Burrow. It adjoins the Calf at low water, but at high water there are forty feet of intermediate sea."—See Bullock's *Hist. of the Isle of Man*, 8vo, 1816, p. 223.

This Thomas Bushel must not be confounded with the person of the same name who was employed by Lord Bacon to assist him in his philosophical experiments, was celebrated for his knowledge of mineralogy, and became afterwards Superintendent of the Mint to Charles I. at Abergavenny and Shrewsbury. This Thomas Bushel lived many years later, and did not die till 1674, and therefore could not be the person alluded to by James. See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 1007, and Blakeway's *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. i. p. 423, &c.—C.

How different is the scene now at the same spot! When the Poet was there he deemed it as ‘lonely’ as the ‘Calfe of Man’ and out of the world. Now it is the site of a watering-place as populous and growing almost as fashionable as Scarborough on the east coast, or Hastings with St. Leonards on the south coast of England! Southport, which extends nearly three miles along this shore, and reckons 31,500 regular residents, had not even a name a century since.—A.

Line 142, ‘*Calfe of Man.*’ See *supra* on l. 140.—G.

Line 145, ‘á callott’ = a serving-girl, not at all as deteriorated into a ‘strumpton.’ See Nares, *f. v.* I am disposed to soften the usual gloss (*e.g.* Dyce) of *Winter’s Tale* (ii. 3), by James’s use of the term here, which it is impossible to think was meant by him to indicate trull, or drab, or jade, or more than wench, and in no bad sense.—G.

Line 147, ‘*Haste we back to Ormeskircke,* &c. viz. to rejoin friends left there by James and Heywood when they went forward to the coast.—G.

Line 150, ‘*y^e holye well.*’—This account of the legend of St. Wenefrede is related by James from a MS. Latin life of her, still existing, which was then in the possession of his friend Sir Robert Cotton, in a volume written on vellum about the middle of the eleventh century, containing a collection of chronicles and lives of saints, and now in the Cottonian Library, Claud. A.V. The authorship is attributed by James himself to St. Elerius, a Cambrian or British monk, in 660; but Mr. Blakeway, in the *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 33, has clearly proved that it was

written at a much later period, and that “there is no document respecting St. Wenefrede for five centuries after the time of her supposed existence.” It was from this Cottonian MS. that our author compiled his narrative of this legend; and it is plain that, though constantly occupied in his studies and researches in the Bodleian Library, he had not seen another MS. Latin life of St. Wenefrede in that library, written by Robert of Shrewsbury, prior, and afterwards abbot, of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul in that town, in the reign of King Stephen. This is addressed to his father, Guarin, the prior of Worcester, and extends over a space of forty-four closely written folio pages, containing an account of the life and adventures of St. Wenefrede, and ending with a long statement of the translation of her remains from Gwytherin Church, near Llanrwst in Denbighshire, where she was buried, to the abbey of Shrewsbury; in which translation Robert the prior, and author of this account, took a leading and prominent part. For further information on this subject see Alfordi, *Fides Regia Britannicæ, sive Annales Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*; Leodii, 1663, fol. vol. ii. p. 304: J. Capgravii, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*; Lond. 1516, fol. p. cclxxxvi., b: Capgrave’s *Lives of the Saints*, in Cat. Lib. MSS. Bibl. Cotton. p. 40. Tib. E. I. edit. 1802.—See also Alban Butler’s *Lives of the Saints*, Nov. 3d: Owen and Blakeway’s *Hist. of Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 34, where a *fac-simile* of the writing of each of these MSS. is given; and Pennant’s *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 46, and vol. ii. p. 180, edit. 1810. Robert of Shrewsbury’s *Life of St. Wenefrede* was translated or “reduced”

into English by William Caxton, and printed by him in folio, without date, fifteen leaves, a copy of which is in the Royal Library.—See Dibd. *Typog. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 341. Another translation of this life was published in 1635 by a Jesuit, under the title of “The admirable Life of Saint Wenefride Virgin, Martyr, Abbesse. Written in Latin aboue 500. yeares ago, by Robert, monke and Priour of Shrewsbury, of the Ven. order of S. Benedict. Deuided into two Bookes. And now translated into English, out of a very ancient and authenticall manuscript, for the edification and comfort of Catholikes.—By J. F. of the Society of Jesus. Permissu Superiorū M.DC.XXXV.” Small 8vo. with an engraved Frontispiece, containing a view of St. Winefride’s Well, and the Virgin herself kneeling before an altar. In 1712 was published “The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with Litanies, with some historical observations made thereon. By F. Metcalf, S.J.” 12mo. Lond. 1712. With an engraved Frontispiece. And in 1713 appeared the last and most copious Life of St. Winefrede, by the learned Bishop Fleetwood; being the last-mentioned work, republished with Notes and Observations, and a Preface, by the Bishop, with the following title: “The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with her Litanies. With some Historical Observations made thereon.” 8vo. 1713.—C. This was a longer journey than any of the previous ones of the *Iter*, the goal being Holye Well (Holywell), in the county of Flint, N. Wales. The distance from Heywood to Holywell by way of Manchester, Altringham,

Northwich, and Chester, is about sixty-five to seventy miles, and would take a good couple of days on horseback to reach it in 1636. Again, on the outward journey, he mentions nothing he saw by the way, but proceeds to give a description of the Holy Well, and an account of the legendary lore connected with it.—A.

Line 152, ‘*a doting pilgrimadge*.’—Cf. ll. 209-212. Except William Crashaw (father of the poet Richard Crashaw), Popery had no more strenuous opponent than Richard James. See our Introduction.—G.

Line 199, ‘*wen is white*.’—“*Wen* in the old British tongue signifies *white*, and other letters were by an alteration added to this syllable, to render more agreeable the sound of the new name.”—See Bp. Fleetwood’s *Life of St. Wenefride*, p. 61, edition 1713.—C. *Ibid.* ‘*but stained red*, &c.—In the translator’s “*Preface to the Reader*” of the Life of this Saint, published in 1635, after remarking on the multitude of Pilgrims who visited the place of St. Wineffrede’s martyrdom, he adds: “The waters of this holy Well, seeme to haue in the more than naturall vertues, by giuing a musky and most delightful sweetnes to the greene mosse growing on the wals of this stately enclosure, and colouring all the stones which lye in the botome thereof with spots, as it were of pure bloud, in them strangely appearing.” In the Life also, the author speaks of the place being “seene and honoured by multitudes of people, daily visiting her Well, as the miraculous Trophy of her martyrdome there susteyned; wondring first, to see such a source of pure water breaking out of the ground

vpon which her head first fell; next, to behould the stones therein, as with drops of bloud strangly stayned, or died rather; and lastly, to smell the greene mosse growing about the Well, with a musky sweet odour more than naturally perfumed.”—*Life of St. Wenefride*, p. 179, edition 1635. The supposed bloody stain upon the stones is occasioned by an odoriferous vegetable production, the *byffus jolithus* of Linnæus, who says that “the stone to which it adheres easily betrays itself by the colour, being as if smeared with blood, and if rubbed, yields a smell like violets.” The sweet-scented moss which grows on the sides of the Well, and is found in other springs in the neighbourhood, is the *jungermannia asplenoides* of Linnæus.—C.

Lines 201-2, ‘*a fountaine cleere*.—Cf. Drayton’s Poly-Olbion (folio, 1622, p. 160) for the same legend.—C.

Line 205, ‘*Reade Surius, and Baronius*,’ &c.—“The Life of this Noble Virgin and Martyr, was diligently and authentically gathered by *Robertus Salopiensis*, a learned Monke and *Priour of Shrewsbury*, of the holy order of S. Benedict, liuing in King *Stephens* tyme, and for his great sincerity, by *Cardinall Baronius, Surius, Capgrave, Pits, Possevinus*, and others, worthily commended. Whose booke coppied truly out of an old authenticall Manuscript, I haue heere in fense faithfully translated, and done no otherwise in altering the Authors old phrases, scarcely expressible in good English, then as if I had stripped some body out of Welsh course frize, and put him into a suite of English playne Karesay.”—Translator’s *Pref.* to the edit. 1635.—C.

Line 205, ‘*Surius*.’—Laurentius Surius, a voluminous writer and compiler, was born at Lubeck in 1522, and became a Monk of the Carthusian order in that city. He was eminent for his virtues and learning, and died at Cologne, May 25, 1578, aged fifty-six. His principal works are *A Collection of Councils*, in four vols. fol. 1567,—*A History of his own Times from 1500 to 1566*, 8vo. 1569,—and *The Lives of the Saints*, seven vols. fol. 1618. It is remarked that Surius “did not want learning, but those of his own communion allow that he gave credit blindly to fables, and was deficient in critical knowledge.”

—C.

Line 205, ‘*Baronius*.’—Cæsar Baronius, a Cardinal of the Roman Church, and an eminent writer of ecclesiastical history, was born at Sora in the kingdom of Naples, October 30, 1538, educated at Rome, chosen Confessor to Pope Clement VIII., by whom he was raised to the dignity of a Cardinal, June 5, 1596. He was afterwards appointed Librarian of the Vatican, and died June 30, 1607, in his sixty-ninth year. His great literary work, in which he laboured for more than thirty years, was his *Ecclesiastical Annals*, published in twelve vols. fol., the first printed in 1588, the last in 1607, in which the history of the Church was brought down to the year 1198. There were numerous editions of it afterwards published.—C.

Line 206, ‘*Thomas Asaphs Bishop*.’—“ Thomas Goldwell sub initium Octobris 1555 consecratus, circa solstitium aestivale 1559 (Elizabethæ Reginæ primo) solum sponte mutavit, et in exilio viginti postea per annos vixit. Magnō

conatu magnas nugas. Multis precibus à Papâ impetravit Goldwellus indulgentias renovari nescio quas ad tempus certum concessas, superstitionis gratiâ peregrinationes suscipientibus ad fontem qui sanctæ Winefridæ appellatur, et oblationes sacrificulis exhibentibus qui ibi loci ex hoc lucelli genere victitabant.”¹—F. Godwini *De Praesulibus Angliae Comment.* vol. ii. p. 222. fol. Cantabri. 1743.—C.

Line 207, ‘But Capgrave says.’—John Capgrave, who lived in the reign of Henry VI., was Provincial of the Augustine Friars, and confessor to the famous Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the first founder of the University Library at Oxford. He collected together the various Legends of the British Saints, which he published in a more correct form than had yet been done. These Lives of the Saints were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, under the following title, “Nova Legenda Anglie. Lond. ī domo Wynādi de Worde 1516,” folio. The Lives extend in alphabetical order to fol. cccxxxiiii., a list of which may be seen in Catal. Libr. MSS. Bibl. Cott. p. 40. Tib. E. I. edit. 1802. The work was reprinted at the same prefs, with similar decorations, in 1527, folio. Capgrave, who is supposed to have died A.D. 1464, does not appear to be noticed by any of our later writers on biography.—C.

Line 213, ‘Nay, nothing of the name of Winefride
Is in Geraldus or Galfridus read,
Whoe y^e surwaye did write and y^e storie
Of their deere Wales, in which they glorie.’—

¹ “Moritur et sepultus est Romæ circa 1581.”

"It is very singular," remarks Mr. Blakeway, "that Giraldus, whose turn of mind, at once inquisitive, credulous, and rational, would scarcely have let him pass over a worker of miracles of his own country; and whose subject, a description of Wales and its marvels, would necessarily have led to it, should not notice Winefride in the slightest degree; and a learned philologist,¹ himself a Welshman, boldly declares, that she was never anything more than a *name*; Gwenvrey, signifying, according to him, '*the white hill water*,' the copious fountain of Holywell: an opinion which will not appear destitute of probability to those who call to mind the numerous examples in heathen mythology of wells that have sprung from events similar to that of the legend before us, and recollect how closely the religion of the dark ages copied the reveries of paganism."

—See Blakeway's *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 42.—C.

Line 214, 'Giraldus.'—Gerald de Barry, better known by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, was born at the Castle of Manorbeer, in South Wales, about 1146. In 1172 he was made Canon of Hereford, and Archdeacon of Brecon in the Diocese of St. David's; and on the death of his uncle, David Fitzgerald, Bishop of that See, he was elected by the Chapter to succeed him, but was opposed in this appointment by Henry II. In 1188 he accompanied Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a tour through some of the wildest parts of Wales, to preach the Crusade. The results of his travels were given to the

¹ Will. Baxter. See his Note on *Hor. Ep.* 1, xv. 3.

world in the most celebrated of his works, his *Itinerarium Cambriae*. Little appears to be known of the later years of his life, but he is said to have at last attained the great object of his ambition, the Bishopric of St. David's, and having died there some time after 1220, to have been buried in his own cathedral.

Giraldus deserves our admiration for his enthusiastic love of British antiquities, and was a voluminous writer, also, on other subjects. The reader may see a full list of his works in Tanner's *Biblioth. Britann.* Portions of these were printed by Camden in his folio collection of English Chronicles, but a complete edition of the works of Giraldus is still a desideratum.

The *Itinerary* was translated into English, with annotations and a Life of Giraldus, by the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., and published in 1806, in two vols. 4to. with the Latin text as a supplemental volume in the same year, the whole reflecting great credit on the taste and research of its learned Editor.—C.

Line 214, ‘*Galfridus.*’—Jeffery or Geoffrey of Monmouth, a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis, and a writer of British History, who flourished in the time of King Stephen, was born at Monmouth, and probably educated at the Benedictine Priory in that town. He was made Archdeacon of Monmouth, and promoted to the Bishopric of St. Asaph in 1152, but resigned his See soon after, on account of some tumults in Wales, and retired to the Monastery of Abingdon, of which he was made Abbot by Henry II. Here he devoted himself to study, and wrote

various works, of which the one best known is his *Chronicon sive Historia Britonum*, first printed at Lyons, in 1508, 4to. It is filled with marvellous and fabulous relations, and must be considered more in the light of a romance than as a piece of real history. An abridgment of it was made by Virunnius, an Italian; and an English translation of the work appeared in 1718, 8vo., by Aaron Thompson, with a preface "concerning the authority of the history."—C.

Line 218, 'waud.'—i.e. waved, rejected.—C.

Line 218, 'Salope Robert.'—Robertus Salopiensis, or Robert of Shrewsbury, whose name, on the authority of Lloyd's MS. *History of Shropshire*, is believed to be Pennant, was probably one of the ancient family of the historian of that name, still existing at Downing, in the immediate neighbourhood of Holywell. He became Prior of Shrewsbury Abbey in the reign of King Stephen, and was afterwards made Abbot. He was the person who caused the translation to be made of the bones of St. Wenefrede out of Wales, to his own abbey at Shrewsbury, to enrich his foundation; and afterwards wrote the life of that Saint, and an account of the proceedings on the removal of her remains in 1136.—C.

Line 219, 'nor yet Elerius cite.'—St. Elerius is said, according to ancient legends, to have been a Monk of St. Asaph, who lived A.D. 660, and afterwards settled at Gwytherin in Denbighshire, where he became the instructor of St. Wenefrede, who was placed by him in a convent of Nuns at that village, under the rule of his mother, Theona; on whose death she succeeded to the government

of the Nunnery. He was canonized at his death, and his body was afterwards removed to the Abbey of Shrewsbury.—C.

Lines 221-2, ‘*But here to Templers cell were monkes put in
Vnder our seconde Edward.*’

Basingwerk Abbey, called by the Welsh *Maes Glâs*, or Greenfield Abbey, about a mile from Holywell, was founded, according to Tanner and Dugdale, by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, in 1131, for Monks of the Cistercian order. Others affirm that it was founded by Henry II. subsequent to the year 1150. While Gabriel Powell in his annotations on Giraldus, and Bishop Gibson in his additions to Camden, both place its foundation so late as the reign of Edward II. in 1312, thus agreeing with James in the Poem. Pennant is of opinion that there had been a religious community here considerably anterior to any of these periods. He also states that Henry II. established here a house of Knights Templars, for the protection of the English pilgrims in performing their vows at the sacred well of St. Wenefrede, of which the spacious and elegant chapel is still standing. If a house for Templars existed at Basingwerk, it must have been contemporaneous with the existence of this older foundation; but the existence of Templars here is not certain. The Monks of this Abbey kept a Priest in the Chapel of the well, for whose maintenance they had special estates granted.—See Dugdale’s *Monastrycon*, edit. Ellis.—C.

Line 222, _____ ‘*then beginne
Theis craftie fables : stories they invent.*’

The author of the Poem seems inclined to agree with Gabriel Powell in ascribing the invention of the legend of St. Wenefrede to the Monks of the adjoining Abbey of Basingwerk, from the circumstance of no mention being made of it by any writer previous to the foundation of that monastery. But there is every reason to believe the tradition to have preceded the foundation of the Abbey by a long period. Mr. Pennant, indeed, thinks the legend of St. Wenefrede was known previous to the Conquest. Holywell was anciently called in Cymric, *Tre-ffynnon*, "the town of the well," and in the charters of Basingwerk Abbey it is called *Haliwelle*.—Leland, in his *Genethliacon*, in mentioning Holywell, calls it

— “*cæſa Trefontem virgine clarum.*”—C.

Line 224, ‘*They purchase pardons which from Rome are sent.*’—The revenues of the Abbey were yearly increased from the sale of pardons to such as came in solemn pilgrimage to the fountain of St. Wenefrede. Selden, in his learned notes on Drayton’s *Poly-Olbion*, relates that Pope Martin V. in the reign of Henry V. furnished the Abbey of Basingwerk with pardons and indulgences to dispose of to the pilgrims.—C.

Lines 225-27, ‘*They builde a ſtructure, chappell, cloyfters round
About y^e well; to put off cloathes they
founde
A joining roome.*’

The well of St. Wenefrede is one of the greatest curio-

sities of the county of Flint. It is situated in a deep dell between the town of Holywell and the sea, and is most probably caused by some streams descending into the chinks and cavities of the carboniferous limestone range of the Flintshire Hills, and thus forcing their way out at this spot. The supply of water is always very considerable, and after heavy rains great discoloration takes place in it; otherwise it is exceedingly pure, limpid, and cold. Above it is a beautiful edifice of the perpendicular style of pointed architecture, erected by Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII., all the parts of which are constructed of the best materials, and finished in the most exquisite and masterly manner. This building consists of a lower open hall built over the well, with a wall all round, and monialled arcades looking into the well. The roof, which forms a canopy over the fountain, is most delicately carved in stone, the intersections being filled with sculptured figures of animals and armorial bearings. Above is a room once used as a chapel, but probably afterwards turned into an apartment for the bathers to unrobe in. At present the bathers put their clothes in small wooden closets, built at the south end of the lower hall, and the upper room is converted into a school. Outside the wall is a swimming bath constructed within an open court, and the spot is greatly resorted to at the present day by persons affected with maladies for which a “cold-water cure” may be desirable. The effects of the aqueous application are indeed so rapid and complete, in some cases, that the superstitious belief of olden times may be well accounted for,

and perhaps pardoned.—C. A ground-plan and interior view of St. Wenefrede's well and chapel appeared in the *Archæological Journal* for 1846, with a description by Mr. A. Poynter, who ascribes this “elegant gothic structure in the perpendicular style,” on heraldic evidence, to a date before 1495. He continues—“The building enclosing the well is erected against the side of the hill from which the water issues, and forms a crypt under a small chapel contiguous to the parish church and on a level with it, the entrance being by a descent of about twenty steps from the street. The Well itself is a star-shaped basin, ten feet in diameter, canopied by a most graceful stellar vault, and originally enclosed by stone traceried screens, filling up the spaces between the supports. Round the basin is an ambulatory, similarly vaulted. The water rises from a bed of shingle with great impetuosity. From the main basin it flows over into a smaller one in front, to which access is obtained by steps on both sides, for the purpose of dipping out the water, and from thence into a large reservoir outside the building. From the latter the water passes by a sluice into the service of a paper mill, and after putting in motion the machinery of several manufacturers, falls into the Dee at a distance of about nine furlongs from its source. The chapel was restored about forty years ago by means of a public subscription of the inhabitants of Holywell. A charming vignette of the exterior of the chapel is given in Dean Howson's “The River Dee, its Aspects and History.”—A.

Lines 227-29. ——————
*In seventh Harryes time
 And in Queene Maries, with such toyes
 they chime
 Much people in with coyne.'*

Pardons and indulgences continued to be sold by the Monks in the time of Henry VII., and in the reign of Queen Mary were again obtained from Pope Julius III. through the assistance of Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, who fled from this country into Italy on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and died there in 1581. James II. and his amiable consort, Queen Maria Beatrice d'Este, came here, in order that her Majesty might derive benefit from the water; and it is said, not without good effects being produced.—C.

Line 230, ‘*But to encrease their Greene-field Abbes wealth.*’—“Multitudes of offerings,” says Pennant, “flowed in:—marks of gratitude from such who had received benefit by the intercession of the virgin.”—Pennant’s *Tours*, vol. i. p. 51. Edit. 1810.—“Greene-field Abbey.” See note on line 221.—C.

Line 235-7, ‘*This faire cleere springe, which courses
 through y^e hills,
 Conveys summe metall tincture in bir rills,
 Which they make staine of blood.*’

It has been already shown that the supposed “staine of blood” is derived from a vegetable production. James here attributes it to the water being impregnated with iron or other metal, for which, however, there does not appear to be any good ground of supposition. We have seen it

asserted somewhere, that persons in Holywell used to remember the Roman Catholics painting some of the stones with red paint every year! “*Credat Judæus!*”

Bingley says, “In this stream it is remarked that the water-wheels are very soon destroyed—so much so that an oak wheel, which in most other waters ought to have lasted at least thirty years, has been known to become unfit for use in twelve; a species of moss, the *hypnum riparium*, vegetates on the wood, and harbours the larvæ of some species of insect in such immense quantities, that they soon eat even into the heart of the wood. On this account water-wheels formed of cast iron are used in the place of timber.”—See Bingley’s *North Wales*, vol. i. p. 52.

We do not know the other spring alluded to by the author in his side note, “ten miles distant from Wenefredes well,” but in that limestone country springs sometimes both disappear and burst forth in very curious localities.—C.

Line 237, ‘*now the tide*,’ &c. At Holywell the tourist has a view at low tide of the broad expanse of the sands around the estuary of the Dee. As the tide was receding from the sands, the Poet and his companions began the return-journey, and rode to Chester, where they doubtless lodged and inspected the city next day.—A.

Line 239, ‘*Chester a Roman Station*.’—Chester, the ancient Deva of the Romans, was the head-quarters of the 20th Legion for upwards of two hundred years, and one of the most important of their military stations in Britain. Considerable remains of Roman antiquities have been found

at various times within its walls, consisting of altars, statues, pottery ware, coins, and other relics ; and also two baths. Of one of these, some remains are still in existence, consisting of a *hypocaust*, situated in Bridge Street, near the Feathers Inn, and engraved in Lysons' *Hist. of Cheshire*, p. 431. It is thus described by Pennant :—“ This hypocaust is of a rectangular figure, supported by thirty-two pillars, two feet ten inches and a half high, and about eighteen inches distant from each other. Upon each is a tile eighteen inches square, as if designed for a capital ; and over them a perforated tile two feet square : such are continued over all the pillars. Above these are two layers ; one of coarse mortar, mixed with small red gravel, about three inches thick ; and the other of finer materials between four and five inches thick ; these seem to have been the floor of the room above. The pillars stand on a mortar-floor, spread over the rock. On the south side, between the middle pillars, is the vent for the smoke, about six inches square, which is at present open to the height of sixteen inches. Here is also an anti-chamber, exactly of the same extent with the *hypocaust*, with an opening in the middle into it. This is sunk near two feet below the level of the former, and is of the same rectangular figure ; so that both form an exact square. This was the room allotted for the slaves who attended to heat the place ; the other was the receptacle of the fuel designed to heat the room above, the *concamerata sudatio*,¹ or sweat-

¹ Vitruvius, lib. v. c. 11.

ing chamber, where people were seated either in niches, or on benches placed one above the other, during the time of the operation."—*Tours in Wales*, vol. i. p. 152, ed. 1810; and Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 295. Pennant also gives an account of a second hypocaust, discovered in Watergate Street, in January, 1779, of greater extent than the former, containing two sudatories, but now entirely destroyed.—C.

Line 241, '*The Romans hypocaufts did use.*'—The brick walls of some of the underground chambers of the Roman hypocausts were exhibited in Chester when James was in the city. Other similar structures have been recently exposed. Dean Howson writes (in 1875):—"Within the last ten years, during the removal of an old hotel in Bridge Street, the ground floor of Roman houses came to view, with fragments of tessellated pavement and other features familiar to us at Pompeii, and one of the hypocausts, or arrangements for warming, can still be seen very complete." A century since (1779) a hypocaust was discovered in Water Street.—A.

Lines 243-4, ——— 'y^e bricks of such worke lardge and square,

In knowing Whitbyes house preserved are.'—

Some of these bricks, or large square perforated tiles for conveying the steam, are now in the possession of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart., of Oulton Park.—C.

Line 244, '*In knowing Whitbyes house.*'—Edward Whitby, Recorder of Chester, and M.P. for that city, was the Antiquary here named. He was the son of Robert

Whitby, who was Mayor of Chester in 1612, and had a brother, Thomas Whitby, Sheriff in the same year, who died before his brother Edward, leaving a family. Edward Whitby the Antiquary was chosen Recorder of the city of Chester 13th August, 1613, 11 Jac. I., and was elected M.P. for the same city in the following year, 12 Jac. I. He continued to sit for Chester to the time of his death, which took place April 8, 1639, at the Bache. He was connected by family marriages with the Gamuls, Alderseys, and other respectable Chester gentry; and it is mentioned by Ormerod that among the MSS. of the Randle Holmes in the British Museum, “are several of his papers relating to Cheshire antiquities, in a hand generally illegible.” His Will bears date 17th June, 1633, in which he appoints his wife Alice Whitby and Thomas Branand, Esq., his Executors, by whom it was proved the 29th April, 1639; and mention is made in it of his estate, capital messuage, manor, or lordship of Bach, &c. &c. Bache Hall, or The Beach, as it is now called, the “house” or mansion here referred to, in which Mr. Whitby resided, and “preserved” his collection of antiquities, was garrisoned by the Parliament, and destroyed during the siege of Chester. It was pleasantly situated about a mile from that city, above a rocky valley from which the place took its name, Bach being the Saxon denomination of a valley.—See Ormerod’s *Hist. Chefs.* vol. i. p. 187, and vol. ii. p. 423.—C.

Line 245, ‘drie baths,’ &c.—It thus appears that our present hot-air ‘baths’ (so-called) were flourishing in Chester in 1636, and by James preferred to water-baths.—G.

Line 249, ‘*Of bucks and does*’=slang names for friars and nuns. This insinuation because of the almost invariable neighbouring of monasteries and nunneries, is an old gibe, too well warranted by facts.—G.

Line 249, ‘*peeled*,’ i.e. bare, shaven, alluding to the shaven heads of friars.—C.

Line 252, ‘*molaes*,’ i.e. false conceptions. See Facciolati in v. *Mola*. It is merely the Latin word borrowed, a practice common among old writers. Gouldman, in his curious *Latin and English Dictionary*, 4to, 1664, gives the term “mill” as used for such an abortion. *Mola*, μόλη, caro informis, seu moles carnea, in uteris concepta, a mill, a piece of flesh without shape, a hard swelling, a moon calf, &c.—C.

Line 253, ‘*y^e Jew Amatus*.’—John Roderigo Amato, a Portuguese physician and medical writer, of Jewish origin, flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. He studied at Salamanca, and practised surgery in that city, and afterwards in Italy. His attachment to the Jewish faith, brought him under the notice of the Inquisition, which obliged him to fly, first to Ragusa, and afterwards to Theffalonica, where he openly professed the Jewish religion. His writings chiefly consist of a large collection of observations on physic and surgery, entitled “*Curationum Medicinalium Centuria Septem*,” published separately from 1551 to 1557, a work of great learning and information. The time and place of his death are not known.—C.

Line 253, Margin-note, ‘*foing*.’—Cleansing, or making

clean. Forby, in his *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, has to fie, fey, or fay, as still used in Norfolk in this sense. In Craven, to fie, or fay, now signifies to clean out, as fishponds or ditches.—See *Promptor. Parvul.* p. 160 and p. 175.—C.

Line 255, ‘*Fond fals imposture.*’—With characteristic anti-Popish feeling the Poet condemns the celibacy of the religious orders of both sexes, as a ‘fond’ [= foolish] pretence and a ‘false’ imposture, seeing that instead of being a pledge of chastity it was too often merely a cloak to profligacy. It was as much beyond man’s art to secure virtue by such means as to ‘haine,’ or retard, ‘the streames of Dee from gliding to y^e maine.’—A. *Ibid. ‘haine.’*—This word is still provincial, meaning to exclude, as cattle from a grass field, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire. It is obviously Ang.-Sax., henan or hýnan, impeditre. It is equivalent here to hinder.—See concerning this word, Jamieson’s *Scottish Dic.*—C.

Line 257, ‘*Three miles from Chester lyes à common heath,* &c.—This event of the defeat of the Britons and the capture and pillage of Chester, took place in 607, when Ethelfrid, King of Northumbria, urged on by Ethelbert, King of Kent, came to avenge the quarrel of St. Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose jurisdiction and authority, and that of the Romish Church, the British Monks and Ecclesiastics refused to submit. “Ethelfrid,” says Pennant, “was opposed by Brochwel Yscythroc, King of Powis, who collected hastily a body of men, probably depending on the intervention of Heaven, as in the case of the *victoria alleluiaatica*; for that end he called to his aid one thousand two

hundred religious from the great convent of Bangor, and posted them on a hill, in order that he might benefit by their prayers. Ethelfrid fell in with this pious corps, and finding what their business was, put them to the sword without mercy. He made an easy conquest of Brochwel, who, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, escaped with about fifty men."—Pennant, vol. i. p. 162. Ed. 1810.—"Hoc anno 607, Æthelfrithus ducebat exercitum suum ad Legirciester, et ibi Britannos interfecit innumeros. Brochmail dictus est eorum dux, qui cum quinquaginta plus minus evasit."—*Chron. Sax.* 4to. 1692, p. 25. See also *Ran. Higden inter Rerum Ang. Scrip.* iii. 228; and *Bedæ Eccles. Hist.* ibid. p. 177.—C. James appears to have mistaken the scene of the memorable massacre of the Bangor monks. It is at a spot more like fifteen miles south from Chester than three miles, on the banks of the Dee, that the hamlet stands, still called Bangor or Bangor Monachorum, in memorial of the tragedy enacted there. Bede, referring to the slaughter of the British monks near Chester, with his habit of detraction of the character of the British Christians, writes that Ethelfurth, King of Northumbria, A.D. 607, "having raised a mighty army, made a very great slaughter of that perfidious nation (the British) at the city of Legions (Chester), which by the English is called Legacestre, but by the Britons, more rightly Caer Legion." 1100 monks of the great monastery at Bangor perished in this massacre.—A. James's theory of the *motif* of the massacre (ll. 261-66) must be read *cum grano salis*. Then, as since, hideous things were done in the name of Christ,

though in profoundest antagonism to His spirit and teaching.—G.

Lines 271-273, ‘*America, thy wofull tragedie,
Was not more fell than this of Brittanie,
In lignage and in landguadge.*’

James, in his fierce and bitter enmity against the Romanists, is here of course alluding to the horrible outrages and cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the conquest of Mexico, by Fernando Cortes, and their cruel treatment of the unfortunate Emperor Montezuma, and of his officers, who were publicly burnt alive; and also in the conquest of Peru by the same nation, under the celebrated Pizarro, whose treatment of the innocent and defenceless Peruvians calls forth feelings of the most genuine pity and compassion, and has left an eternal stain of infamy on the Spanish name.—See Robertson’s *Hist. of America*.—C.

Line 274, ‘*From Catnys to y^e. Mount*,’ i.e. from Caithness in Scotland to St. Michael’s Mount in Cornwall.—C.

Line 276, ‘*threape*.’—To threap, Ang.-Sax., *þneapian*, or *þneagan*, signifies to persist in a fact or argument, be it right or wrong; also to chide or censure, to blame or rebuke. But here it rather means reproofment, or punishment. See on this word Grose’s *Prov. Gloss.*; Nares’s *Gloss.*; and Jamieson’s *Scottish Dict.*—C.

Line 277, ‘*Penigent, Pendle hill, Ingleborough*,

Three such hills be not all England thorough.’

This is an old local proverb, or sort of proverbial rhyme, and may be found in Grose’s *Provincial Glossary*, amongst

the Yorkshire Proverbs, p. 94. Ed. 1841. 4to. Ray gives it thus :—

“ Ingleborough, Pendle, and Penigent,
Are the highest hills between Scotland and Trent.”

PROVERBS, p. 238, ed. 1768.—C.

This distich had its origin at a time when the people knew little of English geography beyond their own district, and in hilly districts considered their own principal hills the highest and grandest in the country. South of the Cumberland and Westmoreland ranges, however, there are no mountains of bolder altitude than these principal ridges of the Pennine range, which flanks the upper valleys of the Lune and Ribble, and extends southward through West Yorkshire and East Lancashire into Derbyshire. Whernside, not named in the couplet, is the highest summit of the range (2384 feet), Ingleborough being 1361 feet, Penigent 2270 feet, and Pendle 1831 feet. An earlier poetic allusion by half a century than James, to these mountains, is found in Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (27th Song), e.g.

“ From Penigent's proud foot, as from my source I slide,
That mountaine my proud syre, in height of all his pride,
Takes pleasure in my course, as in his first-borne flood ;
And Ingleborow Hill of that Olympian Brood,
With Pendle, of the North the highest hills that be,
Doe wistly me behold, and are beheld of me.”—A.

Lines 277-279, ‘ *I long to climb up Pendle.*’—The next excursion of our Poet was in an opposite direction from those which preceded—a ride northward from Heywood to Pendle Hill and Pendle Forest in the North-East angle of Lancashire. The party on starting for this journey

would proceed to Bury ; thence over the hills at Haslingden separating the Irwell valley from the vale of the Lancashire Calder ; and crossing the latter river at Altham Bridge near Padiham, would approach Pendle Hill on the southern side at Sabden or at New Church in Pendle Forest.—A.

Lines 279-80, _____ ‘Pendle stands,

Rownd cop, survaijing all y^e wilde moore lands.’

Pendle Hill¹ is situated on the borders of Lancashire, in the northern part of the parish of Whalley, and rises about eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. The views from the summit are very extensive, including the Irish Sea on one side, and York Minster at a distance of nearly sixty miles on the other. But notwithstanding the boast of the old proverb above, there are several hills around it of much higher elevation. Dr. Whitaker, in describing this part of the country, says—“ A very singular phenomenon appears, which is this, that whereas the mineral beds of Lancashire preserve a general inclination nearly from east to west of one foot in five ; and thence to one foot in seven ; here on a sudden the crust of the earth appears to have undergone a violent disruption, in consequence of which the edges of the beds are thrown up into the air, and downward toward the centre of the earth. At an angle of no less than forty-five degrees to the horizon, immediately beyond this appearance, rises the huge mass of Pendle, which seems to have been thrown up by the same convulsion ; and immediately to the north again, appears a surface

¹ So called from *Pen*, or the Head.

of limestone, with its concomitant system of plants and minerals, which, had the strata to the south maintained their natural position, must have lain at a vast depth beneath. The effect of this convulsion is felt over a tract of forty miles to the north, scarcely a seam of coal being found before we arrive at Burton in Lonsdale."—See Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, p. 278, 3rd Ed. 1818.—C. The summit of Pendle is a wide plateau, a mile or so across, and two or three miles in length ; but at the north-east end there is a slight rise in the ground, which is the 'round cop' or cope, from which the wide expanse of 'wild moorland' is best seen.—G.

Lines 281-3, 'And Malkins Toure, à little cottage, where
Reporte makes caitive witches meete to
fweare
Their homage to y^e divell.'—

Malkin Tower, in the Forest of Pendle, in the county of Lancaster, stood on the declivity of Pendle Hill, and was the place where, according to vulgar belief, a sort of assembly or convention of reputed witches took place on Good Friday in 1612, which was attended by seventeen pretended witches and three wizards, who were afterwards arraigned, August 18, 1612, before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, at Lancaster, and ten of these unfortunate creatures were found guilty, and immediately put to death. The account of this may be read in Potts's *Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, 4to. Lond. 1613 ; and reprinted in the third volume of Lord Somers's *Tracts*, 4to. 1810, with an Introduction and

Notes by Sir Walter Scott, Bart.; and since then for the Chetham Society, with an admirable and masterly Preface by Mr. [James] Crofley, who observes in a note to his Introduction, p. xl ix:—

“ Baines confounds Malkin Tower with Hoar-stones,¹ a place rendered famous by the second case of pretended witchcraft in 1633, but at some distance from the first-named spot, the residence of Mother Demdike, which lies in the township of Barrowford. The witch’s mansion is now, alas! no more. It stood in a field a little elevated on a brow above the building at present called Malkin Tower. The site of the house or cottage is still distinctly traceable, and fragments of the plaster are yet to be found imbedded in the boundary wall of the field. The old road to Gisburne ran almost close to it. It commanded a most extensive prospect in front, in the direction of Alkincoates, Colne, and the Yorkshire moors; while in another direction the vast range of Pendle, nearly intercepted, gloomed in fullen majesty. At the period when Mother Demdike was in being, Malkin Tower would be at some distance from any other habitation; its occupier, as the vulgar would opine—

‘ So choosing solitary to abide
Far from all neighbours, that her devilish deedes
And hellish arts from people she might hide,
And hurt far off unknown whomever she envide.’ ”

¹ Hoar-stones, of which there are many in different parts of the kingdom, have been very satisfactorily proved by Mr. Hamper to be Boundary stones.

Thomas Shadwell wrote a comedy on this subject, entitled *The Lancashire Witches, and Tegue o' Divilly the Irish Priest*, published in 1682, 4to. and again 1691, which met with great opposition at the time, on account of the character of Tegue o' Divilly the Irish Priest. The plot was founded in some degree on these trials in 1612, and the proceedings of Old Demdike and her companions. The play, by Heywood and Broome, called *The Late Lancashire Witches*, 4to. 1634, related to the other circumstances of pretended witchcraft, which took place in 1633.—C. There is some difference of statement as to the exact situation of the ‘little cottage’ of Elizabeth Southerns, nicknamed Old Demdike. Local traditions accord another site to that indicated by local historians and by the erudite Editor of Potts’s ‘Discoverie.’ But it was somewhere on the ridge of the moors, a couple of miles south-east of Pendle, above the glen through which the mountain-stream called Pendle Water flows. Malkin Tower, though but a small tenement, was visible, James observes, from the top of Pendle Hill.—A. Those curious in words will be rewarded by consulting Nares under ‘Malkin’ and ‘Grimalkin,’ as explanatory of the name here of ‘Malkin’s Toure.’—G.

Line 286, ‘*If Judges sentence,*’ &c.—See the fide note.—C. See also our Introduction on James’s advanced opinions on witchcraft.—G.

Lines 294-5, —— ‘*and scarce see priest to give
Them ghostlye counsell.*’—

James, though living at the time when the later trials

of the witches of Pendle Forest took place, in 1633, was superior to the superstitions that then prevailed, and attributed these idle and baneful ‘phanſies’ to their right cause, the lonely and desert country in which the thinly scattered population lived, and the ignorance and want of spiritual instruction and ‘ghostly counſell’ under which they laboured. The large parish of Whalley had been deprived of its rich revenues by the diſſolution of the Monasteries under Henry VIII., which had ſwept away, with rapacious hand, the munificent fruits of piety and religious feeling, and which, ſays the elegant historian of this parish, “by thus diminishing the numbers of the clergy, destroyed much of that influence which near inspection and personal intercourse with the people always produces, and by impoveriſhing the foundations which remained, effectually prevented the introduction of learned and able preachers. For the effect was what might be expected—the inferior clergy of that and the ſucceeding times have been too often contemptible for their poverty among the rich, their ignorance among the refined, and their bad morals among the devout; ſo that from the want of a well-informed, respectable, and reſpected miniftry, a country antecedently ſuperstitious and ſtupid, has never been thoroughly evangelized to the preſent day.” We ſincerely truſt that this melancholy ſtate of things is gradually diſappearing. By the building and endowment of additional churches, the multiplication of ſchools for the instruction of the ignorant and benighted poor, and a greater increase of general knowledge and intelligence,

accompanied by purer and better conceptions of the divine agency, these ancient absurdities and debasing delusions are fast dying away. The increase also of commerce and manufactures, and of the attendant comforts and conveniences of life, gives promise of increased bodily and mental improvement, the happy effects of which are daily appearing in the progressive extinction of those horrid and fanatical superstitions which prevailed so extensively here in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and rendered this parish so celebrated in the annals of witchcraft and sorcery.—C.

Lines 295-6, —— ‘*Churches farre doe stand
In lay mens hands.*’—

Bishop Gastrell, in his *Notitia Cantriensis*, observes in his remarks on the parish of Whalley, that “The Abp. [Cranmer] in his lease of this Rect: reserves to himself and Succ: y^e right of Nominating y^e Vicar and all y^e Curates of y^e sev^{ll} Chappells w^{ch} are therein named, viz. Padiham, Colne, Burnley, Church, Altham, Haslingden, Bowland, Pendle, Trawden, Rossendale, and Chap. of Castle at Clithero.”

The Patronage of the Chapels, however, was exercised by the Vicar of Whalley, which right was afterwards questioned by Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, but ultimately resigned in favour of the Vicar. For particulars of this contest, with some curious letters on the subject, see Whit. *Hist. of Whalley*, pp. 152 and seq. 3d Ed. 1818.—C. In the absence of Parish Churches, Chapels of Ease had been built, generally by voluntary gifts of money and labour by the inhabitants, at Haslingden, Newchurch in Rosendale, Accrington, Church-Kirk, Altham, Padi-

ham, and Newchurch-in-Pendle, in the neglected district traversed by James in this excursion ; but the titles of all these places belonged to the rectory of Whalley, which was appropriated to the Archbishop of Canterbury : neither were any glebe lands attached to these chapels. Almost their sole endowment was the interest on small bequests by pious parishioners, and some paltry pensions to curates allowed out of the rectorial revenues. The indifferent revenue of the chapels under such circumstances may be imagined. One celebration in the fortnight or month was as much religious exercise as was then provided in many chapelries.

—A.

Line 296, ‘*In lay mens hands.*’—It is not to be understood from this that the patronage of the Churches was vested in unworthy individuals, who neglected to supply the Cures with fit and proper clerks ; but that the persons who officiated were merely *laymen*.

“ They scarce see *Priest*.”

These lay ministers were styled Readers, and had no orders ; and it is a curious fact, which we learn from James, viz. that the larger parochial Cures of Colne, Burnley, Church, &c. were so impoverished that they could not support an educated Ecclesiastic. It is quite certain that at no time after the Reformation were the Churches of Whalley parish in “ laymen’s hands ” as Impropriators.

It is a circumstance now too much forgotten, that the ravages of the lay Reformers of the sixteenth century stripped the poorer Churches of their ministers, and left

them entirely destitute of the ordinances of religion ; and that in a large proportion of the lower foundations in the remote parts of this diocese there were only Readers to be obtained, who were supported by the meagre voluntary offerings of their hearers. This state of things continued until the operation of Queen Anne's Bounty began to effect a change for the better. The following passage on this subject from Southey's *Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, is too interesting to be omitted :—

“ An increase of clergy proportionate to the increase of the people is still wanting. But the first steps have been taken towards this necessary measure, and something has also been done towards training up a supply of clergy for those remote parts of the country where the cures are miserably poor and the peasantry are the only inhabitants. Such cures were held in these northern counties by unordained persons till about the middle of George the Second's reign, when the Bishops came to a resolution that no one should officiate who was not in orders. But, because there would have been some injustice and some hardship in ejecting the existing Incumbents, they were admitted to Deacon's orders without undergoing any examination. The person who was then Reader, as it was called, at yonder chapel in the vale of Newlands, and who received this kind of ordination, exercised the various trades of tailor, clogger, and butter-print maker.” Pp. 66—67, vol. ii. 1839.

It is somewhat surprising to find how many laymen were formerly admitted to officiate in the remote Chapels

of the Diocese. But it ought also to be remembered, that when laymen leased the Tithes of a district, they nominated or appointed the Officiating Minister to the Church. This was a right supposed to be vested in the individual who enjoyed the tithes; not a right in the way of privilege, but of duty and obligation. “He who has the tithes shall see that the cure of souls is supplied.” Still the *Churches* would not have been in the *hands* of these *lay men*, but the original *endowments* only; whereas if the duties were performed by a Sub-deacon or a Reader, it did not follow that such functionary was in Holy Orders, but the contrary.—See Burn’s *Eccles. Law*, under the head *Reader*.—C.

Line 296, ‘*chappells haue no land*.’—This was a literal fact as regarded nearly every chapel in the parish of Whalley at the time when James wrote this Poem, 1636.—C.

Line 297, ‘*Sir Jhon*.’—John Butterworth, Clerk, Curate of Haslingden, is mentioned in Wills and Licences from about 1608 to 163—. But the description here given alludes rather to a class than to an individual, although the subsequent account of this person, and his forty years’ incumbency, would rather lead to the inference that he was a real than a fictitious character. The title of ‘Sir John’ was merely a sobriquet for an illiterate priest, and often occurs in old writings. How late it continued to be in use, as applied to the inferior clergy, appears from this passage. The reader will find other apposite instances cited by Mr. Way, in his notes on the name John in the *Promptor. Parvul.* vol. i. p. 264, as occurring from Chaucer downwards.—C. Butterworth is named as curate of Haslingden in 1597, so that he

had really been at this poor place forty years in 1636. He must have died soon after James's visit; for in 1637 another curate was installed, one George Jackson. Although, seeing the curate's name was John, the term 'Sir Jhon' had a personal reference, it was a common term of the period applied to the whole class. Cf. Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), and earlier, Robert Crowley's *Voyce of the Last Trumpet* (1550). The latter as less known may here be quoted :—

“Thou that art lewde withoute learnyng
Whom commonly men call syr John,
Geve eare, for I wyll say somethynge
Concernyng thy vocation.”—A.

Line 298, ‘*Doe preach for four pounds unto Haselingdon.*’—Bishop Gastrell, enumerating the several items of the endowment of Haslingden, records, in 1719, “old allowance, 4^l p. an.;—added by Abp. Juxon 7^l 10^s, as appears by receipt of Curate, an. 1663.” James's allusion to this pension settled upon the tithes, and afterwards augmented by a worthy Prelate, is evidently historically accurate.—C.

Line 299, ‘*begging corne.*’—Ormerod mentions that in Cheshire “a custom of *begging corn* begins three weeks before Christmas and ends on Christmas eve. The farmers in the centre of the county are all waited upon by the poor, especially those of their own township, and give generally about a quart for each member of their family; sometimes meal and flour are given in lieu of corn.”—*Hist. Chesh. Gen. Introd.* vol. i. p. lii. It was not unfrequently the case that parish clerks claimed once a year [toward Christ-

mas] “a bowle of corn” from each parishioner of substance in former days ; and this dole might also have extended to the Curate. The Clerk of Rochdale parish, about 1692, had such a recognized privilege, which he relinquished for a money-payment out of the Church rates, and the latter being now withheld, his ancient stipend has been lost.—C.

Line 300, ‘*Makes Jhon*,’ &c.—Ancient John Butterworth, the Haslingden curate, somehow contrived—though he had a wife and children—to spare out of his ‘four pounds a year’ something to spend on ale at the alehouse ; for the Poet explains the terms ‘my ladyes horne’ to refer to ‘an alewife’ so called, who had ‘an horne of plentie.’ Perhaps this ale, like the corn, consumed by Sir John, was chiefly begged.—A.

Line 305, ‘*But greater wonder calls me hence*.’—The commencement of another excursion.—C.

Line 306, ‘*deepe, lowe spongie moffes*.’—The main object of this new and final journey of our Poet while his headquarters were at Heywood, was to see the remains of a primeval forest funk beneath the present surface of the land and bed of the sea in the district of West Cheshire called Wirral (Worold), lying betwixt the estuaries of the Mersey and the Dee.—A.

Lines 307-8, ————— ‘*on numbers infinite
Of fir trees*,’ &c.

Although there is hardly any timber now growing on the coast of Lancashire, remarkable only for its dreary and barren sand hills, yet it is clear that the country formerly abounded with wood, for in the mof lands near the sea,

large quantities of trees, “black, broken on their rootes,” are still found only a few feet from the surface, as if overthrown by some violent commotion, or sudden irruption of the sea.—C.

Line 307, Margin-note, ‘*a place called y^e stocks in Worold.*’—The “stocks” here alluded to by the author were probably “the Meoles stocks,” which were trunks of trees on the sea shore, above New Hall, now called Leafowe Castle, in Wallesey parish, in Wirral. This part of Cheshire, though now so bare of trees, was once, according to tradition, so well planted with timber as to give rise to the saying, that “a man might have gone from tree-top to tree-top from the Meoles stocks to Birkenhead;” and to another proverb of the same kind, that—

“From Blacon Point to Hilbree,
A squirrel might leap from tree to tree.”

See *Hist. Chesh.* vol. ii. p. 262.—C.

Descriptive and speculative articles on these buried forests will be found in vol. vi. (new series) of the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, by Dr. A. Hume and Mr. Boult; and in Dr. Hume’s work entitled “Ancient Meols” (1863).—A.

Line 308, ‘*ceffes.*’—*i.e.* probably excavations filled with water. (So *cefs*-pool.)—C.

Line 321, ‘*Sarayna.*’—Torelli Sarayna, to distinguish him from others of that name, was a Doctor of Laws, but is not to be confounded with the celebrated Lelio Torelli, editor of the Pandects. His book was printed at Verona in 1540, with the following title, “Torelli Sarayna Vero-

nensis Leg. Doct. de Origine et Amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ. Veron. 1540." fol. It is ornamented with a fine portrait of the author, and several large woodcuts of the architecture and antiquities of that city. An Italian translation of the work by Orlando Pecetti, was published at Verona in 1586, and again in 1646, 4to. The work is also printed in the large and valuable collection by Grævius, entitled "Thefaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae," fol. Lugd. Bax. 1704—23. Vol. 9, Pars. 7.—C.

Line 323, 'wale,' or wall, *i.e.* wave. Sax., unda, fluctus : from the same root with Wele ; or Eng., well, a fountain ; —all as conveying the idea of ebullition.—See Jamieson's *Scot. Diet.*—C.

Line 324, 'at Conyngton was found a whale.'—Conington, a village in Huntingdonshire, not far from Stilton, was the property and residence of the friend of James, the celebrated collector, Sir Robert Cotton, Bart., who, on making an excavation for a pond, found the skeleton of a sea fish, twenty feet long, lying in perfect fitt, about six feet below the surface of the ground, and on a mound above the level of the fens.—C.

Lines 324-5, 'And ofte earths boſſome y^e rich priz'd hornes
Of counter-poſon ſea-fiſh unicorneres.'—

It is curious to find, from this paſſage, how late the vulgar error of the counter-poſon qualities of the horn of the unicorn obtained. Few persons, however, have correctly affigned the horn to the Narwhal and not the quadruped as James does, who perhaps took the hint from his friend and fellow-traveller, Tradescant. At the King's

Library at Paris, the gigantic horn, long preserved as a treasure beyond all price in the Abbey of St. Denis, and presented, we believe, by St. Louis, is still shewn. There is scarcely an inventory of the plate, jewels, and treasure of the Sovereign or of great Estates, in which mention of the unicorn's horn does not occur ; and we remember that even among the valuable effects of the warlike Henry the Fifth, given in the Parliamentary Rolls, it appears that he was possessed of a piece of this valued preservative.—C.

Line 330, '*Pechora.*'—There is a town called Petchora in Russia, in the province of Riga, near to a large lake, called Lake Pskovskoie. But the author is here more probably alluding to the river Petchora, in the province of Archangel, which rises among the Oural mountains, and after a long course, and receiving several tributary streams by the way, empties itself into the Arctic sea on the north. James might possibly have visited this river in his early travels in Russia, and were his MS. "Observations" which he made on that country still in existence, they might have afforded some illustration of the author's allusion to this river Pechora.—C.

Line 335, '*I Hubberts and Tradescants earnest prize,*'—*i.e.*, their museums of natural curiosities.—C.

Line 335, '*Hubberts.*'—Robert Hubbert, alias Forges, who styles himself "servant to his Majesty" Charles II., collected many natural curiosities, which he exhibited at the Mitre, near the west end of St. Paul's. A Catalogue of these was printed in 1664, with the following title, "A Catalogue of many Natural Rarities collected with great

industry and cost and thirty years Travail into foreign countries, by Robert Hubert (alias Forges) Gent., Sworn Serv^t to his Ma^{tie}, and daily to be seen at y^e place called y^e Musick house at y^e Mitre near y^e West End of St Paul's Church." They were afterwards sold, and bought by Mr. Colville for £30, and given by him to the Royal Society.—See Bagford's MSS. in the British Museum, Harl. Coll. 5898, fol. 41.—C.

Line 335, '*Tredescants.*'—John Tradescant, celebrated for his knowledge of botany, and collection of natural curiosities, was a native of Holland. It is not known when he first came into England, but in 1629 he was gardener to King Charles I., and resided at South Lambeth in Surrey. He had travelled much in different parts of Europe, and, as appears from the side note, had been accompanied by James in some of his journeys. He was one of the first persons in this country who formed a collection of natural and artificial curiosities, and was followed by his son in the same pursuit. An account of this museum was printed in 1656, entitled "Museum Tradescantianum; or, a Collection of Rarities preserved at South-Lambeth neer London by John Tradescant," 12mo. Lond. 1656, to which are prefixed two portraits of the father and son, by W. Hollar, and a plate of arms of the Tradescants; the original paintings of which are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. John Tradescant the younger died in 1662, and either sold or bequeathed the collection to Elias Ashmole, who at his death left it, with his own additions, to the University of Oxford, and thus

founded the Ashmolean Museum. There is a curiously ornamented monument in memory of the family in Lambeth Churchyard, erected by the widow of the younger Tradescant.—C. He has the honour of a place in Herrick's *Hesperides* (1645).—G.

Lines 339-40, '*At Norton Abbye now y^e Brookses land
Twice big as life Saint Christopher doth
stand.*'

In the garden at Norton Priory in Cheshire, the seat of Sir Richard Brooke, Bart., is an ancient gigantic figure of St. Christopher, carrying the infant Jesus, which is given in Buck's View of the Priory taken in 1727, and of which there is also a neatly engraved vignette in Ormerod's *Hist. Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 505.—C. Few visitors seem to be aware that on the *verso* of Rubens' great "Descent from the Cross" at Antwerp, there is a gigantic 'St. Christopher' bearing the 'Holy Child.'—G.

Line 341, 'One giant stone.'—Villegas, in his *Lives of the Saints*, observes of St. Christopher,—“He was very bigge of body, and talle of stature, and carried in his hand a great staffe agreeable vnto his strength. . . . Before his death the holy Saint made his prayer vnto God, and desired him humbly, that in the place where his body was buried, or any part thereof should be, that tempests and earthquakes might doe no harme. This (as it seemeth) is the cause that the picture of S. Christopher is ordinarily in euery Church, more than the pictures of other saints ; and though his body or his reliques cannot be in euery place, yet at the least they set his Image there, that they may resort thither in time of

such necessarie, and be deliuered from the rage of tempests, stormes, and earthquakes, by the merits and intercession of this holy Saint. Therefore the Christians depaint him in euery Church and place, that all men may enjoy that fauour."

"Neither neede we to wonder, if S. Christopher were great of stature, for S. Augustine in the 15. booke, 9 chap. *De ciuitate Dei*, saith, that in ancient times, men were very taule. Plinie in the 7. booke, 2 chap. saith there be found men in Scithia of 50 cubits. S. Isidore affirmeth, that the Macrobii, people of India, are 12 foote high. Strabo in the 7 booke saith, that in the sepulchre of Antheus, was found his body, which being measured was of 60 cubits."—See *The Lives of Saints*, by Alph. Villegas, 3d edit. 4to. 1630. p. 510.—C.

Lines 341-3, —————‘ and in Hale chappel wee

*Againe him painted with Saint George do see
In y^e East windowe.*’—

The present chapel at Hale having been rebuilt so lately as 1758, there exist no remains of the painted East window, containing these figures of St. George and St. Christopher; but there can be little doubt that this window was originally placed there by Adam Ireland, Lord of Hutton and of Hale (in right of his wife, Avena, the daughter of Sir Robert Holland of Hale), who built a portion of the original chapel at Hale, and was living in 1315.—C.

Lines 343-4, —————‘ *Hylin lett thy penne*

*Once more from hence proue y^t theis shous
were men.*’—

Dr. Peter Heylin, an eminent divine of the Church of

England, of considerable learning and industry, and the author of numerous works which are now rising again into esteem, was born at Burford in Oxfordshire in 1599, educated at Oxford, made Chaplain in ordinary to Charles I., from whom he received valuable preferment, and was much noticed and employed by Archbishop Laud. During the ascendancy of the parliamentary party he was stripped of all his preferment, deprived of his curious and valuable library, and reduced to great poverty and distress. But on the restoration of Charles II. he recovered all his various spiritualities, which, however, he did not long enjoy, but died in 1662, in the sixty-second year of his age. In 1631 Dr. Heylin published "The Historie of that most famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus, St. George of Cappadocia ; asserted from the Fictions of the Middle Ages of the Church and Opposition of the present, Lond. 1631," 4to., in which he endeavoured to prove, that such an individual really had existed, in opposition to the general belief that he was an imaginary being. A second edition, corrected and enlarged, but with some omissions, was published in 1633, 4to.

Heylin had the misfortune to fall under the censure of Dr. Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, at that time a popular man with the puritanical party, who had, however, some time before, published a Latin Lecture on the Sabbath, and advocated opinions therein not much in unison with those maintained by the Puritans. When the Proclamation generally called the *Book of Sports* was re-issued, a great clamour was raised

against Charles I. and Laud, of which Heylin, as Chaplain to both, had his share. To vindicate the proceedings of the King and Archbishop, and to lessen Prideaux's influence with the Sabbatarians and Puritans, Heylin translated Prideaux's Lecture upon the Sabbath, and added a pungent Preface, which answered the objects that he had in view. This was in 1633, and it is not improbable that James had this controversy in his mind when he, with much dry sarcasm, makes allusion to "Saint Sunday," in line 346. A full account of Heylin, and of his controversies with Prideaux and Archbishop Williams, with a copious notice of his numerous works, will be found in Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* v. iii. p. 552. 4to. ed. Bliss. See also Newcourt's *Rep. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 925; and Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 90, part ii.—C.

Line 344, 'prooue y^t theis shews were men,' i.e. that these saints really had an existence, and were not merely imaginary beings.—C.

Line 345, 'Wickham.'—There are several places of this name in England, so that it is difficult to ascertain to which of them James here refers. We fear, also, that the painted glass mentioned in the side-note as adorning "the south casement of Wickham church," has not escaped the destructive hand of the puritans, like the Middleton window, but perished in the great Rebellion; otherwise such a personification of St. Sunday would be a fact of a novel and interesting nature, and worthy of further investigation.

—C.

Line 345, 'neſh' = soft, tender, delicate; but here perhaps

used in the sense of nice, scrupulous, unwilling to come. This is a Lancashire word, and also still retained in the central counties, but generally in the first named sense.
—C.

Line 346, '*Saint Sunday*.'—This is a very remarkable passage in the poem, and the first time we have ever heard of the personification of St. Sunday, who is completely unknown to hagiographers. There is no doubt the day was converted into a saint in the same manner as St. Crofs, St. Trinity, or St. Saviour, now generally called *Holy Crofs*, *Holy Trinity*, &c.; although examples of the former mode of expression are yet found in some old places, as at York and Winchester. It is evident that the author considers Saint Sunday quite as apocryphal as St. Christopher or St. George.

It is possible that Saint Sunday may be St. Dominica. There appear to have been two females of that name. One of them, a virgin, was born at Carthage, and flourished about the time of Theodosius the Great; she visited Constantinople with four other virgins, and was baptized by Nectarius. She died in 475; her day was January 8. It is a singular coincidence that with her were canonized S. *Georgius Chozebites*, and S. *Æmilianus*.—See Zedler.—C.

Line 346, '*a leſb*', i.e. a leash—three; viz. St. Christopher, St. George, and St. Sunday.—C.

Line 348, '*Or els he feares y^e strong Maypolian band*.'—The meaning of this line appears to be, that Heylin, the undaunted and haughty opponent of the Puritans, would be considered afraid of that body—the vigorous enemies of

Maypoles and Sunday sports—unless he vindicated opinions and usages which they rejected.¹—C.

Line 350, ‘*At Heywood hall.*’—Heywood Hall, in the township of Heap, the residence, at the time of James’s visit, of one of the most ancient families in the parish of Bury, is situated about half a mile to the north-east of the populous village of the same name. It is beautifully embosomed in wood, consisting of lofty beech, oak, chestnut, and other trees, on a rising elevation above the valley of the river Roach, which flows not far from the grounds. The house, which is partly covered with ivy, has been entirely modernized, so that with the exception of an old gable, and some portion of the offices, little remains visible of the more ancient edifice. The interior is replete with every comfort, and surrounded with extensive gardens and pleasure grounds, and is at present occupied by James Fenton, Jun., Esq.—C.

Line 350, ‘*trading Rachdale.*’—In post-mortem inquiries in the time of Henry VIII., “Walk Mills,” or Fulling Mills, frequently occur; and in the reigns of Eliza-

¹ Since the note on Saint Sunday was printed, the Editor has had his attention called by a friend to a singular corroborative evidence of the supposed existence of such a Saint as is in vain sought for in the Calendar, which is afforded by the letter of Oliver Cromwell to Speaker Lenthall, written from Dublin, September, 1649, in which he recites the sanguinary details of the capture of Drogheda by the Parliamentary army, and how a body of the besieged garrison took refuge in a strong round tower next the gate called *St. Sunday's*.

This is curious, and it is not improbable that this unknown Saint may yet be found in Ireland.—C. See our Introduction.—G.

beth and James I., the woollen trade of the parish of Rochdale was very considerable. It is supposed to have been originally introduced by Flemish emigrants in the time of Edward III.—C.

Lines 351-2, _____ ‘*much I owe*

Of praise and thanks to y^e where’er I goe.’

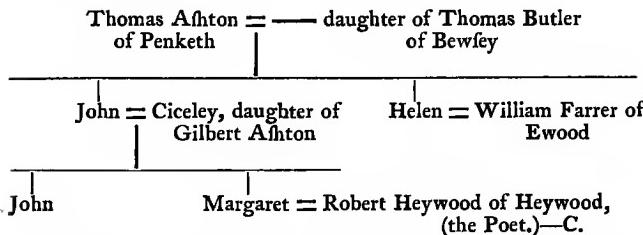
James continues here to speak with great affection of this place, and of the family of that name, who then owned it. From what motives he was induced to visit it, or to become so tenderly attached to it, is still involved in obscurity. The editor is unable to impart any further light on this subject, beyond the conjecture thrown out in the note on line 34; unless the following information may be thought by our readers to bear further on this point.

William Farrer, of Ewood Hall, in the parish of Halifax, Esq., married *Thomasine*, daughter of *Richard James*, of *Portsmouth*, Esq., and had a daughter, who died January 10, 1660. Their son, John, married *Elizabeth*, daughter and heiress of the Rev. James Creswick, B.D., of Beal, near Ferry-bridge (whose manuscript *Memoirs* are named by Thoresby), and died 1722-3, leaving a son and heir, James, who married at Rochdale in 1696, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Brearley, of Rochdale, Gent., and dying suddenly December 18, 1718, left a son, James, Lord of the Manor of Wortley in 1764. His representative is the present Walter Hawkesworth Fawkes, of Farnley, Esq.

Isaac Farrer, Gent., a younger son of John Farrer, of Ewood, Esq., Justice of Peace, by his third wife, Judith,

daughter of Edward Oldfield, of High Oldfield, in the parish of Halifax, Gent., married at Rochdale, Patience, third daughter of Thomas Buckley, of Little Howarth, Gent., third son, and eventually heir general, of Abel Buckley, of Buckley, Esq. Isaac Farrer died at Rochdale in 1708, and his widow in 1721.

The Buckleys were connected by marriage with their neighbours, the Howarths of Howarth ; and several of the other families mentioned by James in his Poem were either nearly or remotely allied to them. The following slight Pedigree will show that a connection also existed between the Farrers of Ewood and the Heywoods ; but their precise degree of relationship to the author of the *Iter* still remains to be discovered.



Line 357, ‘*Amongst y^e Dingles and y^e Apennines.*’— These words appear to refer to the mountainous district of country, diversified by romantic valleys and dells (commonly called dingles), lying between the Ribble and the Mersey. The description, however, is peculiarly applicable to the scenery in the neighbourhood of Heywood and Rochdale.—C.

Lines 359-62, ————— ‘*When all England is aloftie
Then happie they whose dwelling’s in
Chrifit’s crofte.
And where thincke you this crofte of
Chrifit shoud be
But midſt Ribcheſters Ribble and Mercy?*’—

This old rhyming proverb is not given in Ray’s Collection, nor in that of Grofe.

Like some others of the same kind, it serves for different counties besides Lancashire. In Yorkshire it is given thus :—

“ When all the world shall be aloft,
Then Hallamshire shall be God’s croft,” &c.—C.

A very few years later all this was falsified. James concluded that no place in England was so secure against disturbance in time of war as the part of Lancashire between Mersey and Ribble, and that this must be the traditional ‘Chrifit’s crofte.’ But none the less was this identical district the scene of some of the most desperate fights in the Civil War, and was ravaged in turn by the armies of both fides.—A.

Line 363, ‘*My paffadge bether I not liſte to tell.*’—The author here starts off to the subject of another excursion which he had made.—C.

Line 364, ‘*Though then I ſaw Saint Anne and Buck-ſtones well.*’—There appears to be little doubt that the warm springs at Buxton were known to the Romans, and that the lead mines also in this neighbourhood were worked by them, as alluded to by James. The warm baths at

Buxton began to be in much repute in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and have continued so ever since.—C.

Line 367, ‘*At Casteltoun*,’ &c.—He visited Castleton, Eldon Hole, Poole’s Cave, Wingates, and other places of note in the Peak district of Derbyshire. The strange and changing waters at Castleton must refer to the ebbing and flowing well on the road between Buxton and Castleton. “Long-sounding Elden-hole” is a deep vertical cavern, two miles from Castleton, which was once considered unfathomable; but a Mr. Lloyd went down the chasm in 1781 and found a bottom at the depth of sixty-two yards. Poole’s Hole is an interesting cavern about half a mile from Buxton. The Wingates or Wind-gates is a deep ravine a mile in length, traversed by a mountain road from Buxton to Chapel-en-le-Frith.—A.

Line 370, ‘*mole-warps*,’ i.e. moles. It is so used by Shakespeare and other old writers. Thus Hotspur, in the *First Part of Henry IV.* iii. 1—

“ Sometimes he angers me
With telling me of the *mold-warp* and the ant.”—C.

See Todd’s *Johnson*, s. v. “mouldwarp.”—G.

Line 371, ‘*wall-tiding*,’ i.e. wave-tiding. See Wall, a wave. Jamieson’s *Scottish Diet*. This alludes, of course, to the ebbing and flowing well near Tidefwell. See note on line 323.—C.

Line 372, ‘*His worships breech*.’—We cannot but admire the delicacy with which James here alludes to the popular name of the celebrated cavern at Castleton.—C.

Line 375, ‘*Chetwyn*.’—Sir Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie, in the county of Stafford, Knt., was the eldest son of Sir William Chetwynd, Knt., who died June 14, 1612, by his first wife, Atalanta Huick, of Stillested, in the county of Kent. Sir Walter Chetwynd was sheriff of Staffordshire in 1607, and married, first, Mary, daughter and heiress of John Molyns, of the county of Somerset, Esq., by whom he had no issue; secondly, the Lady Catherine Hastings, eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntingdon, and widow of Sir Edward Unton, by whom he had two sons, Walter, his heir, and John, the father of the first Lord Chetwynd.

Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie, Esq., his eldest son and heir, married Frances, daughter of Edward Haslerigg, Esq. She survived her husband, and married, secondly, Sir Wolstan Dixie, Knt., and died in 1686. This Walter Chetwynd was succeeded by his only son, Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie, Esq., the celebrated antiquary (Bishop Nicholson’s “*venerandæ antiquitatis cultor maximus*”), who rebuilt the Church at Ingestrie in 1677, and died without issue 21st March, 1692-3.

We are not aware that any relationship or connection existed between Sir Walter Chetwynd, James’s “hoast of honour,” and his other friends mentioned in the poem. It does not, however, follow, that anything more than friendship or acquaintance should have existed, to have brought them together; and doubtless, at the table of his friend Sir Robert Cotton, James would meet with many learned and distinguished individuals, who would honour

him for his erudition; and, from his knowledge of foreign countries, find him an agreeable companion.—C.

Line 375, ‘*Crewe*.’—This was Sir Randolph Crewe, who purchased the Manor and Lordship of Crewe, about the year 1610, from the heirs of Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt., and built the present hall at Crewe, which was completed about 1636. The Lordship of Crewe had from a very early period been the seat and inheritance of a family of this name, Henry de Criwa, or Crewe, being an attesting witness to a deed executed so early as the middle of the twelfth century. Joan, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Thomas de Crewe, who died 21st Edw. I., the last heir-male of the elder branch of the family, married Richard Praers of Barthomley, whose grand-daughter, Elizabeth, conveyed Crewe by her marriage to Sir Robert Fulleshurst, Knt. (see on l. 17), from whose descendants it was purchased by Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt., afterwards Lord Chancellor in 1578.

Sir Randolph Crewe, the restorer of this branch of the family to the seat of their ancestors, was born in 1558, bred up to the study of the law, in which he was so successful as to be appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, which office, however, he held for only two years. He attained the age of eighty-seven years, and dying January 13, 1645, was buried at Barthomley.—C.

Line 377, ‘*To y^e young heyre of Speke*.’—This would probably be Edward, son of William Norris, Esq., and Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Salisbury, Knt., of Chawens, in the county of Denbigh. He died early in life in 1664, having married Frances, daughter of Sir

Thomas Powell, Knt., of Horsley, in the county of Denbigh; and leaving no issue male surviving, the estate passed to his brother Thomas, born September 23, 1618, and died July 6, 1700.—C.

Line 377, ‘*In Stevens right.*’—Alan le Noreis, or Norris, of Sutton, in the county of Lancaster, with whom the Pedigree begins, occurs in a deed, sans date, but probably as old as the middle of the twelfth century; and this reference no doubt is to King Stephen. The sixth in descent from Alan le Norris was Sir William, who obtained the Manor of Speke by marriage with Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir John Molyneux, of Sefton, Knt. This Alan le Norris might be the “old Sire” who fought at the Battle of the Standard.—C.

Line 378, ‘*Whose old Sire did y^e standards battle fight.*’—The battle of the Standard was fought at Northallerton, in Yorkshire, on the 22nd August, 1138, in the reign of King Stephen, when David, King of Scotland, who had advanced into Yorkshire in support of the title of his niece, the Empress Matilda, the only legitimate child of Henry I., to the throne of England, against the usurpation of Stephen, was totally defeated by some of the powerful Barons of the North, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English. It was called the battle of the *Standard* from a high crucifix erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign.—C.

Lines 379-80, ‘*And from whose house and name of late
were seene
Two chiefs of warre unto our mayden
Queene.*’—

One of these would be Sir William Norris, of Speke, K.B. at the coronation of King James I. He married Helen, daughter of Sir William Molyneux, of Sefton, Knt., by whom he had issue, seven sons and four daughters, and died about 1626. The other was doubtless Sir John Norris, Knt., a brave and accomplished General in the reign of Elizabeth. He was the second son of Henry Norris, of Wytham, in the county of Berks, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Norris, of Rycot, in the county of Oxford, by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Williams, of Thame. He is said to have had three horses killed under him in one day, whilst fighting abroad in the Netherlands. He was sent over to Ireland as commander in the reign of Elizabeth, and died there unmarried in 1597, of grief and disappointment at not having been appointed Deputy of Ireland on the recalling of Sir William Russell, Knt. The Earl of Abingdon is the present representative of the Rycot branch of the Norris family.—See Torre's MSS. vol. v. p. 767, folio, and Fuller's *Worthies*, Lond. 1662, folio, p. 335.—C.

Line 381, ‘*To Rigby of y^e Hut.*’—We are not confident in our conjectures respecting this person, but we believe him to be Col. Alexander Rigby, the Parliamentary Commander, and friend of Col. Afsheton, also visited by James. He was the eldest son and heir of Alexander Rigby, of Wigan and Peel, in the county of Lancaster, Esq., by Alice, daughter of Leonard A—Shaw or Ashaw, of the Shaw, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. He was born in the year 1592 (the same year that James was

born), being æt. twenty-one at the time the Visitation of Lancashire was taken in 1613, and was brought up to the profession of the law ; but, in those spirit-stirring times, exchanged his pen for a sword, and became a distinguished commander in the service of the Parliament, and was actively employed at the siege of Lathom House in 1644. He represented Wigan in Parliament in 1640, and married Lucy, sister to Thomas Legh, of Adlington, Esq. He was the elder brother of George Rigby, of Peel, Esq., to whom the estate of Peel appears to have descended, who was clerk of the Peace for the county of Lancaster, married Beatrix, eldest daughter of William Hulton, of Hulton Park, Esq., and rebuilt the Hall at Peel in 1634. From the Rigbys the estate passed into the family of Kenyon, by the marriage of Roger Kenyon with Alice Rigby, and is now the property of the Right Honourable George, second Lord Kenyon. According to Dugdale, Col. Alexander Rigby was of 'Middleton in Goosnagh,' near Preston, and died in 1650. We are unable to state why he is called 'of y^e Hut,' which at that time belonged to the family of the Irelands.—See Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 351.—C. The 'Hut' was a large old mansion in the township of Hale-wood and parish of Childwall, near Liverpool.—A. It seems clear that though mansion and estate in 1636 belonged to John Ireland, Esq., father of Sir Gilbert Ireland, the Poet's friend Rigby was occupant of the former at least, as tenant I suppose.—G.

Line 382, 'We plentie had of Clarett.'—"Port wine was usually called Claret in the North (in 1691), as it is still

by the common people." See Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 478, third edition.—C.

Line 383, '*To Sander Butterworth whoe ledd mee cleane,*' &c.—This was Alexander Butterworth, second son of Alexander Butterworth, Esq. (who died in 1623), by his wife, Grace, daughter of William Asheton, of Clegg Hall, in the parish of Rochdale, Esq., and co-heiress of her sole brother, Dr. Theophilus Asheton, a lawyer. He was of the ancient family of Butterworth, of Butterworth in the parish of Rochdale, seated there early in the reign of Stephen, who removed in 2 Edward I. to Belfield Hall, adjacent to the banks of the Beile, in the same parish (which had formerly been part of the possessions of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem). He was baptized at Rochdale, 10th April, 1597, and was dead in 1664-5. The last heir-male of this ancient family was Alexander Butterworth, of Belfield Hall, Esq., High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1675. He married Sarah, daughter of William Horton, of Barkisland, in the county of York, Esq., by whom he had several children, all of whom he survived; and dying in 1728, æt. eighty-eight years, devised his large estates in Lancashire and Cheshire, and the whole of his personalty, to his agent, Mr. Richard Townley, of Rochdale, a stranger in blood (said to be a descendant of the Townleys of Royle, near Burnley), and great grandfather of Richard Greaves Townley, of Fulbourn, Esq., late M.P. for the county of Cambridge, by whom they are now possessed. Colonel Richard Townley, in the year 1752, repaired and new-fronted the old Hall of Belfield; which, however, is now deserted by its owners, and has been for

some years occupied by wealthy and respectable tenants.
—C.

Line 384, ‘*Through all y^e cataracts of Healo dene.*’—The hamlet of Healey (Highfield), in the township of Spotland, is remarkable for its deep and woody dingles, or ravines, in which the Spodden “struggles for its passage through a channel of excavated rock ;” and forms by the way several small falls, or “cataracts,” before it empties itself into the Roach. In this hamlet, placed on an elevated site, immediately above one of these woody dingles, and commanding an unbounded prospect over the surrounding country, as far as the forest of Delamere, stands Healey Hall, the abode, for a long period, of the ancient family of the Chadwicks, and still the occasional residence of its present proprietor, Hugo Mavesyn Chadwick, of Mavesyn Ridware, in Staffordshire, Esq. The house, though standing high on the skirts of the hills, is well sheltered by growing plantations, which, “added to the natural beauties of its hanging woods, rocks, and rude cascades, form some delightful scenery on the romantic banks of the Spodden.”

The family of the Chadwicks were nearly connected with the author’s friends, the Heywoods ; John Chadwick, of Healey Hall, Esq., having, in 1551, married Agnes, daughter of James Heywood, of Heywood, gent. He died in 1615, having attained the patriarchal age of 103, and is buried in Rochdale Church. Robert Chadwick, of Healey Hall, Esq., also married Alice, daughter of Edward Butterworth, of Belfield, gent., in 1581, who was the aunt of Alexander Butterworth mentioned in the preceding note,

which may account for the ramble commemorated in the Poem, had not the splendid scenery of Healey Deyne, which retains some of its ancient and romantic features even in our day, been a sufficient inducement for the visit.
—C.

Lines 385-6, '*To Robin Howorth from whose familie
Great Noble peers derive their progenie.*'—

This was Robert Howorth of Howorth, Esq., in the township of Hundersfield or Honorsfeld, in the eastern portion of the parish of Rochdale, on the borders of Yorkshire, descended from an ancient family seated there in the time of Henry II., who bestowed certain lands in Howard, in the vill of Honorsfeld, upon Osbert Howord de Howard, for his good and faithful services, and made him Master of the Royal Buck Hounds. Robert Howorth was the twenty-second in lineal descent from this Osbert de Howord, whose name appears in a deed without date, but undoubtedly of the time of Henry II. He was son and heir of Edmund Howarth, of Howarth Hall, Esq., and was baptized at Rochdale in 1601. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Alvery Copley, of Batley, in the county of York, and was buried with his ancestors in the chancel of Rochdale Church, March 28, 1639. His only surviving son, Robert, dying in London unmarried in 1654 (having been called to the Bar a short time previously), the estates reverted to Theophilus Howarth, M.D., of Manchester,¹

¹ Theophilus Howarth, M.D., of Howarth Hall, was baptized at Rochdale, 2nd January, 1613-14; entered of Magdalen College, Cambridge, M.D., July 2, 1661; married Mary, daughter of Henry

whose grandson, the Rev. Radclyffe Howarth, D.C.L., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxon. (being Founder's kin), died unmarried in December, 1768, and by Will, dated 13th October, 1767, devised his lands in the parish of Rochdale, not to the daughters of his aunt, but to Miss Elizabeth Sams, a descendant of the Buckleys, of Buckley, a lady apparently unconnected by any near ties except those of friendship, by whom the Howarth estate was sold to John Entwistle, of Foxholes, Esq., grandfather of the present possessor.—C.

Line 386, ‘*Great Noble peers derive their progenie.*’—Dr. Whitaker, in his *Hist. Whalley*, p. 544-5, 3rd edit., has entered very minutely into this supposition by James of the Ducal family of the Howards being derived from the Howards or Howarths of Howarth Hall, in Honorsfield, and has shown that Sir William Dugdale is unable to bring forward any proof of the existence of such a connection. Dugdale’s allusion to this subject, and to Richard James, B.D., is in the following words, transcribed from the original:—

Ashurst, of Ashurst, in the county of Sussex, Esq.; and was a resident in Manchester, where he was an able and active Magistrate, and much esteemed by the Royalist party. He died on the 9th of April, 1671, at Manchester, where he had distinguished himself by his fidelity to the cause of Charles I., and was buried on the 12th of the same month, within the Vaults of the Collegiate Church. He was an attesting witness to the Will of Humphrey Chetham, December 8, 1651, and had doubtless attended that good and charitable person in his last illness.—See the *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 193, and Mr. Parkinson’s Note on the same.—C.

“ Venerabilis viri Richardi Jamesii, Vectensis, de præclarissimorum et honoratissimorum Howardorum ortu et origine judicium et testimonium. *Iter Lancastrense* a venerabile viro Richardo Jamesio, Vectensi, sacro sanctæ Theologiae Bac: è Coll. Corporio Christi Oxon. Socio seniori, nec non celeberrimi Antiquarii Roberti Cottoni Militis Aurati amicissimo, heroico metro compositum (An servatoris millesimo sexen^{mo} trigesimo septimo) prænobiles et honoratissimos Howardorum duces comites Barones ab Howardorum de Howard Hall (in Honorsfield in Parochiâ de Rachdale in Com. Lancastriæ) ortum et illustrem stemmatis originem deduxisse contestatur, Will. Dugdale Arm. Norroij Rex Armor: heroicos Richardi Jamesii versus perlegit cuius sententiæ prefatus W. D. subscripto propriâ manu.”

In the possession of John Elliott, Esq., of Rochdale, there exists another document, in English, to the same effect, in the handwriting of Dugdale, a copy of which was inserted, by Mr. Elliott's permission, in Baines' *Hist. of Lancash.* vol. ii. p. 643; and as it varies a little from the former statement, and also mentions the place of custody of the original MS. of the *Iter Lancastrense* at that period, it is here added :—

“ Whereas I, William Dugdale, esquire, Norroy Principal Herald, and Kinge of Armes of the Northerne parts of England, or the further side of Trent, have seene and read a MS. entituled, ‘Iter Lancastrense,’ or the ‘Lancashire Itinerary,’ written by Richard James, born in the Isle of Wight, Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Senior Fellows

of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford ; a diligent researcher into, and a great lover of ancient records, an intimate acquaintance and friend of the famous and learned antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, Knt., which he writ in heroicke verse, with large marginal notes, in the year of our Lord God 1637 :—I doe hereby make known to all the Nobility and Gentry of England that the ‘Iter Lancastrense’ doth attest and beare record that the Illustrious Dukes, the Honourable Earls, the Noble Barons, and Knights of the renowned family of the Howards, did derive their originall from the ancient progeny of the Howards of Howard Hall, in the vill, or territorie of Howard, in Honorsfeld, in the parish of Ratchdale, and county of Lancaster ; which said MS. being by me, William Dugdale aforesaid, perused, and nowe in the custody of Theophilus Howard of Howard, Doctor of Physicke, and one of the candidates of the Colledge of Physitians in London,—I, for record and testimony of these things above specified, sett to my hand and seale of my office, the 8th of April, 1665 ; 17th of Chas. II.

“WILLM. DUGDALE,

NORROY KING OF ARMES.”

It is somewhat remarkable that no account exists in the Heralds’ College respecting this instance of what Whitaker terms “the capacious faith” of Dugdale ; nor is there any notice of the Lancashire Howarts in his account of the ducal house of Howard, in *The Baronage*. A short pedigree, not very carefully deduced, is the only notice of this truly ancient family now remaining in the former depository.—C.

Line ibid. Margin-note, ‘*Howarth castle*.’—There is no memorial of such a place in Rochdale, unless the Howarths were the descendants of the old Lords of Rochdale, who are supposed to have occupied the *Castle* in Castleton, which is very doubtful, and not on record.—C.

Line ibid. Margin-note, ‘*Thomæ de Haworth*.’—Thomas de Haworth, son and heir of William de Haworth, of Haworth Hall, in the parish of Rochdale, by his wife Alice, daughter of Hugh del Holte, in Butterworth, in the parish aforesaid.

Thomas Haworth married, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, whilst yet a minor, Margaret, daughter of — Mylne, of Mylne House, in Hundersfield; but the marriage does not appear to have been solemnized, and was probably only a contract afterwards annulled.

He married secondly, Annette, daughter of William de Butterworth, of Butterworth, in the parish of Rochdale, a female related in the second degree to Margaret; and being ‘sybbe,’ the marriage was pronounced invalid. By this wife he had a son, Hugh de Haworth, living in 1448—1461.

He married thirdly, during the lives of his first two wives, at Heptonstall Church, in the county of York, Sir John de Bury being the officiating Priest, Isabella, daughter of William de Butterworth, and sister of Annette aforesaid, ante October 16, 1416, and by her had issue, Edmund and four other sons, and a daughter, married to Elias de Deurden.

In the 30th Henry VI. 1452, considerable litigation en-

fued between Hugh de Haworth and Edmund de Haworth, respecting the inheritance of their father's lands, he being alive, but not knowing which son was his legal heir. To legalize his second marriage, he obtained a divorce from his third wife, and declared that Hugh was his right heir. But afterwards, when he came to lie upon his death-bed, he acknowledged, in the presence of many witnesses, that Edmund was his lawful heir, and that he devised his lands to him. This was on the 13th March, 1461.

The whole of these legal proceedings, and the subsequent very curious disputes between Edmund and his cousin Bernard de Haworth, son of James, next brother of Thomas de Haworth, who claimed the lands as heir-at-law, and was living 9th Edw. IV. 1470, are still amongst the Haworth Evidences.

There seems to be little doubt that this "parliamentane pardon of Henrye y^e fixts time," mentioned in the side-note, had some connection with these extraordinary marriages, which even at that period excited a very strong feeling of disapprobation throughout the country.

Perhaps it ought to be added, that after a variety of contrary opinions had been pronounced, both by ecclesiastics and laymen, Edmund de Haworth succeeded as heir of his father.—C.

Line 387, '*To Roman Nowell.*'—Roger Nowell, Esq., of Read Hall, near Clitheroe, baptized March 13, 1605, a colonel in Charles I.'s service, deputy-lieutenant, and a justice of the peace for the county of Lancaster. He married Dorothy, daughter of John Holte, of Stuble Hall,

near Rochdale, Esq., and, dying at the advanced age of ninety years, was buried at Whalley, May 25, 1695. He was one of the twenty gentlemen of this county who for their loyalty were returned, in 1660, as qualified to be made Knights of the Royal Oak, his estate being estimated at £1,000 per annum. The arms of the family are engraved in Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, p. 264, edit. 3rd. His marriage with Dorothy Holte would bring him into affinity with the Heywoods, through the Greenhalghs, and Holtes of Ashworth.—C.

Line 387, ‘*Roman Nowell*.’—For the addition of the word *Roman*, as applied to Nowell, see the marginal note at the end of the poem, and the reference to Pliny.—C. On all the Nowells, it may be permitted me to refer to the Nowell Townley MSS. 1 vol. 4to. 1877.—G.

Line *ibid.* Margin-note, ‘*y^e three cups.*’—“ The word Nowell, or Noel, a corruption of Natalis, meaning *Deus nobiscum*, indicates the festival of our Lord’s Nativity, and likewise a cry of joy appropriate to the season, and by degrees came to signify a convivial cry in general; in which sense it appears to have been in use as late as the days of Chaucer.¹

“ Of the occasion on which the name was assumed, or imposed perhaps on some one eminent for his festive talents,

¹ “ And drinketh of his bugle horn the wine :
Before him stant braune of the tusked swine,
And *nowel* crieth every lvfy man.”

See Tyrwhitt’s edition of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, line 11,567, 4to. Oxford, 1798; and Mr. Tyrwhitt’s note upon it.

there is no tradition ; but whether the Christmas cry, or the Christmas cup, like the wassail bowl (*et calices poscit majores*), were the distinct meaning, there is no doubt that the covered cups in the family arms allude to the circumstance ; and as heraldry delights in such devices or parodies, three similar cups in the escutcheon of Butler unquestionably allude to the name and office of a butler or cupbearer."

The Nowells probably were followers of the Lacies out of Normandy. Robert Noell is the first that appears in Lancashire, being the last subscribing witness but one to the memorable grant by Roger de Lacy of the Villa de Tunleia to Geoffrey, son of Robert, Dean of Whalley.—See Archdeacon Churton's *Life of Dr. Alexander Nowell*, 8vo., pp. 1, 2.—C.

Line 387, ‘*Asheton of Penkith*.’—Thomas Asheton, of Penketh, son and heir of Hamlet Asheton, of Blakebrook, by his wife Christiana, eldest daughter and co-heiress of John Asheton, of Penketh, gent., which estate her son Thomas inherited in her right. He married Catherine, daughter of Robert Brocke, of Upton, in Cheshire ; and was nephew of Robert Heywood, of Heywood, the elder, who had married Margaret, the younger daughter and co-heiress of the above John Asheton, of Penketh, gent. Thomas Asheton, of Penketh, our author's friend, was one of those who suffered for their loyalty to King Charles I. ; and was fined in the sum of £192 8s. 4d. A pedigree of this family, of eight descents, occurs in the last *Visitation of Lancashire*. The Manor or Lordship of Penketh is situated in the parish of Prescot, and came into the possession of the

Ashetons by the marriage of Richard Asheton with Margaret, sole daughter and heiress of Richard Penketh, of Penketh. It is now the property of Lord Lilford.—C.

Line 388, ‘*Ireland of Hale*.’—John Ireland, Esq., son of Sir Gilbert Ireland, of Hutt and Hale, Knight, and father of Sir Gilbert Ireland, of the same, descended from Sir Robert Ireland, of Hutt, Knt. temp. King John. He died in 1635, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Hayes, Knight, Alderman and Lord Mayor of London. This poem being dated 1636, would be written shortly after the death of John Ireland, to whom the allusion is probably made, as his son Gilbert, born April 8, 1624, would be too young to be the Poet’s friend. The Lordship of Hale is now [1845] possessed by John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., M.P. for Warrington.—C.

Line 388, ‘*To all my Heywoods*.’—See note on l. 4, at the commencement of the poem.—C.

Line 389, ‘*Brock*.’—This probably refers to William Brocke, of Upton, in the county of Chester, Esq. He was born about 1595, was a member of the Inner Temple in London, and married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Mohun, of Baynton, in the county of Dorset, Esq., by whom he had several children. He died on the 4th April, 1640, and was buried on the 8th, at St. Mary’s Church, in Chester. He was the relative of Asheton, of Penketh, by the marriage of his sister Catherine with that gentleman, and of Robert Heywood. On the death of William Brock, Esq., in 1734, the great-grandson of the above, the manor of Upton passed into the family of the

Egertons, of Oulton, by the marriage of his eldest sister and co-heiress, Elizabeth, to John Egerton, of Oulton, Esq.—See Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. ii. p. 444.—C.

Line 389, 'Holcroft.'—Thomas, eldest son of Geoffrey Holcroft, of Hurst, Esq., married Winefred, daughter of Mr. Christopher Tonge, of Tonge Hall, in the parish of Prestwich, and died about 1638; being succeeded by his son Geoffrey, æt. 49, September 23rd, 1664. The family of Holcroft was connected with the Irelands of Hale, Hopwoods of Hopwood, Bamfords of Bamford, and other kinsfolk of the Heywoods.—C.

Line 389, 'Holt.'—The family of Holt, here alluded to, is probably that of Ashworth Hall, in the parish of Middleton, from its relation to the Heywoods. Richard, son and heir of Robert Holt, of Ashworth, Esq., married his cousin Jane (sister of Mrs. Peter Heywood), the youngest daughter of John Greenhalgh, of Brandlesome Hall, Esq.; being the fourth instance, in as many successive generations, of marriages being solemnized between members of these two wealthy and ancient families. Richard Holt, Esq., was buried in Middleton Church, September 28th, 1668.
—C.

II.

THE MUSES DIRGE.

1625.

NOTE.

The ‘Muses Dirge’ is of extreme rarity. Our reproduction is derived from the only known exemplar, in the British Museum (fm. 4°). The late Mr. Corfer seems to have been utterly ignorant of it. See Introduction for more on this longest poetical flight of James and notices of certain names and words in the poem.—G.

THE
M U S E S
D I R G E,

CONSECRATED TO
the Remembrance of the High and
Mightie Monarch, IAMES, by the Grace of
God, late King of Great Brittaine, France,
and Ireland; Who deceas'd at *Theobalds*,
vpon Sunday, being the feuen and twen-
tieth of March, 1625.

Written by *Richard James*, Master of
Arts, and Preacher of Gods Word at *Stoke-*
Newington, in the Countie of *Middle-*
sex, neere LONDON.



LONDON,
Printed by *A. M.* and *I. N.* for *John Browne*, and
are to bee sold at his Shop in *Pauls Church-*
yard, at the Signe of the
Crane. 1625.



TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE EDWARD
Lord CONVVAE Barron of
RAGGLEY, and one of his Maiestie's
Principall Secretaries: And to the Right
Worshipfull Sir FRANCIS POPHAM
Knight, RICHARD JAMES
wifheth all Temporall and Spi-
ritual Happineſſe.

RIIGHT Honourable, and Right Worshipfull, my
publike zeale to the one of you, and my priuate
ingagements to the other, haue inuited mee to
this Dedication; In it you may see a King
dead, and liuing: dead according to the flesh, but liuing in the
monument of his vertues, which suruiue beyond all desolation,
beyond all Funeralls. Their lustre and irradiation is such,
both in the first action, and in the thence proceeding precedent
of their examples, that in themselues, they neede no Panegiris,
nor Commendation. But yet that I might exprefse my zeale
to his Tombe,

as I

The Epistle Dedicatore.

*I did my obedience to his Crowne, I haue brought the myte of
these Tributary Layes, to the Consecrated Altar of his remem-
brance. If your Candor and worthinesse entertaine them
fauourably, and giue them a free and noble acceptance, the
Authour shall thinke his endeauours fortunate, and shall for
euer rest:*

Your Honours, and your
Worships euer deuoted
Seruant.
RICHARD JAMES.

THE

T H E M V S E S
D I R G E.



Behold this heape of bones, this senslesse scull !
 This speaking Embleme, reprents at full
 Man's fraile estate ; which like vnto the grasse
 Doth fade, and wither, and away doth passe
 In lesse then time : So that from out the wombe
 We come no sooner, but vnto the Tombe
 We make our Course ; this being Heauen's decree
 Since the first fruite of the forbidden Tree
 Was chew'd by *Adam* ; that his seed allwayes
 Should haue on Earth but few, and euill daies.
 The truth whereof, we with wet eyes may see
 In this sad Mirroure of Mortalitie ;

Whose dayes though Long, were even as a Span
 To great Iehouae's wide all-measuring hand.
 Whose daies though good, had yet their thorny shares
 Of worldly griefes, and Scepter-circling cares.
 Which he surmounting with the powerfull strength
 Of his Seraphicke Soule, or'e swai'd at length
 Eu'n as at first ; transforming all their gall
 (Which makes so many Soules sicke mortalls' thrall)
 To sweet Nepenthe ; with whose pleasures drunke,
 Vnder their Masse, his vigour neuer funcke

But

(2.)

But still aspir'd : Like to the Bird they call
 Of Paradice ; which nere on Earth doth fall
 Though made of Earth : But still frequents the skie,
 And still amongst those Azured Orbs doth flie.
 On Earth he liuing, liu'd no earthly life
 But fly'd aboue ambition, pride, and strife :
 Aboue those sinnes, which with diuision's chaine
 Plucke Man from God, and God from Man againe.
 So that whatsoeuer Lustre you could finde,
 Disperst among'st whole millions of Mankinde,
 Of different graces,—shining like rich gemmes,
 Set in the fronts of feuerall Diadems :
 All these, like Crownes, adorn'd his Royall head,
 And of them all, large storied you may reade
 In his Life Legend : Learning, Grauity,
 Soule-piercing Eloquence, rare Chasfity,

Iustice, Compassion, Pitie, Piety,
Constancie, Prudence, Saint-like Charity :
All these were lockt within the Syttim Chest,
Of his retyred and Cælestial breast.
Then as some rich perfumes being sent from farre,
Where rising Phœbus mounts his glistring Carre,
Shut up in Boxes of *Arabian Gold*,
Send from the mid'st of that enclosing mould,
An Aromatic, sweete-perfuming smell,
Whereon the Soule and rauish't sense doth dwell :
These vertues inthronized in that shrine,
Which did enclose those faculties diuine,
Sent forth vnto great Brittaines gazing view,
An obiect of a bright transparent hewe ;
His glorious Life, which all men did admire,
As sparkling from the cleere *Prometheian fire*

Of

(3.)

Of Lawe and reason ; which were stll the squares
Of all his Life, his actions, and affaires ;
Nor thus alone did admiration grace,
But imitation did the footsteps trace
Of his example. That the common wealth
Was fraught with plenty, peace, and publike health ;
So that no members vnemploy'd did lye,
But answer'd others with conformitie :
All this proceeded from th' irradient light
Of IAMES his presidents, whose splendor might

In future Ages serue for patternes store,
 And blemish all examples wrought before.
 He was that Head from whom the Reuerend traine
 Of our Law-giuers did their motions gaine :
 He was that head from whom the States-man tooke
 His Oracles, as from some *Delphian* Booke :
 He was that head from whom the Scholler drew
 Contemplatiue and Practique *Maxims* too.
 Sixth *Henrie's* zeale, was lodg'd within his breast ;
 Seuenth *Henrie's* wisdome in his Soule did rest ;
 Third *Edward's* care his Scepter did attend ;
Elizabeth's sweet meekenesse did commend
 His Princely gouernment, as truely good,
 As it was free from slaughter-breathing bloud.
 And all these Graces in such plenteous measure,
 Were powred forth of great *Pandorus* treasure,
 Vpon his Regall selfe, that all her hoord,
 All her large *Magazin* could scarfe affoord
 But such another Patterne ; pleasing Peace,
 Full swelling plenty, priuate, publike ease
 Were Handmaides to his Scepter ; He that ploughes
 The Westerne Isles, and *Ireland's* slimy floughes ;

B. 2

The

(4.)

The Redshanke which frequents that Northerne shore,
 Where *Neptune's* waues against cold Orkney roare.
 The nimble *Kerne*, who footes it or'e the paces,
 The Bogs and Quagmires, and those vncouth places,

Where *Oneal's* bastard issue, proud *Tyrone*
As *Vlster's* Monarch did himselfe inthrone :
All these reformed grew, and patternes tooke
Of life and liuing, from th' exemplar booke
Of their late Soueraigne ; whose religious care,
No cost of Coyne, no labour did forbeare,
To restore Churches in th' *Hyberian Land*,
Spoyl'd by th' accursed Northerne Rebels hand :
Thus popular, and vncontrould applause,
Did all the Current of his actions grace ;
Only that impure, pure reputed feft,
Which singular precifeneffe doth affect, (tence
Which flies from Conscience, and makes gloz'd pre-
Their stalking-Horſe, and their Religions effence :
Only th' Ignatian Conclau, which adores
Their triple Mytred Prelate, and implores
His Pardon more then God's, when as they spinne
The vnhallowed web of their vnueniall sinn :
These were the sole enuiers of that state
Which all this continent posſest of late,
From th' influence of his moft glorious Raigne,
Free from that blemiſh, and that menſtruouſ ſtaine
Which forraigne Kingdomes ſuffer ; and to these
Who were this Iland's burthen, and diſeaſe,
But marke his mercy : that blacke Powder-plot,
Which at the publike defolation ſhot,
And meant with one ſtate and king-killing ſtroake,
Religion's forme and gouernement to choake :

Th' Ar-

(5.)

Th' *Argilian* Treason, nor the dreadfull bent
Of *Gowrie's* complot wanting president ;
All these Conspiracies could not enforce
Our *JAMES* to leaue his mercie's ancient courfe.
As knowing this to be th' Almightye's Type,
Which makes the Creature to his Creator like ;
Yet all these Graces, nor their fwelling dower,
Which th' heauens did in fuch abundance power,
Could not once stop the Fatall Sisters knife,
Nor adde one minute to his cancel'd Life.
Not all that masse of vnexhausted store,
Which lies from *Douer* to the Northern Shore ;
Not that most awfull Scepter, nor that Crowne,
Which now the Prince's temples doth furround ;
Not all these dignities could once affwage,
The boundlesse bounds of Death's vnsatiate rage ;
Which strikes alike the Scepter, and Plough-share,
And striking doth nor King nor Peasant spare.
But ô thou scourge of Man-kind, why shouldest thou
To Kings, and Monarchs, thy destruction vow ?
O why should their Annoynted Corps endure
Thy killing Plague, thy raging Callenture ?
VVa'ft not enough that streames of purple blood,
Conieal'd of late on *Beame-lands* surface stood ?
VVa'ft not enough that all *Sycambr'ia's* tract
By thy dire shafts lay desolate and facte ?
But must thy winged wrath inuade this Land,
And *Myriads* kill with that accursed hand ;

Whose rage no vulgar blood-shed could alay,
 Nor common Carnage could thy furie stay?
 But must thy longing soule deuoure a flood
 Of more e'nobled consecrated blood?

B. 3.

And

(6.)

And like some Horse-leach thou must sucke the veines
 Of foure thrise honour'd Peeres ; whose mouing straines
 Vnder our King, did rule three Kingdomes lore,
 And in that rule a glorious portion bore.
 And could not heare thy banefull malice stope,
 But must thy fatall Axe that Cedar lop,
 That branched Tree, which shaddowed all the foyle,
 Of this Heau'ns-blessed, and *James*-blessed Ile ?
 Must *James* dye like the rest, and die to vs,
 When we did want him most ? Then dying thus,
 Shall his remembrance vnremembred passe,
 Affoone as h'is intombed in the maffe
 Of's Mother Earth ? Shall no *Plebeian* Verse
 Adorne the Shrine of his diuiner Hearse ?
 Shall not the Muses learned Pensill raiſe
 Some Monument to his immortal praise ?
 Shall hee that wrote *Lepantoe*'s famous Story,
 And gaue a liuing lustre to the glory
 Of thofe time-honour'd Christians, who did fight
 Against fierce *Partaes* and *Euchalies* might ?
 Shall hee that wrote vpon that thornie Care,
 Which Crownes & Scepters in their Compasse beare ?

Shall hee that squal'd the ἀρπόν Royall Gemme,
 Farre richer then his Triple Diademe,
 Wherein his sonnes/ might those Characters see,
 Which God requires in selfe-like Maiestie ?
 Shall hee that did those Mysteries vnfold,
 Which blessed *John* in *Pathmos* Ile foretold ;
 Who did discouer all the cursed shifts
 Of *Demoniacks*, and their hellish drifts ?
 Shall hee that gaue the Scepter, rules to sway,
 And taught how Subiects should their King obey ?

Who

(7.)

Who did defend that Oath which doth maintaine,
 The right of Monarchs, that on earth doe raigne ?
 Who made *Perounes* proud Cardinall stand mute,
 And *Vorſius* Summes did learnedly confute ?
 Shall hee that rayfed others from the night
 Of darke oblivion want obsequious right ?
 Oh shall the Sisters three thrice-numbered Chore,
 Which walkes on *Iſis*, and on *Grantæ's* shore ?
 Oh shall *Apolloe's* Laureat Conclaue bee
 So envious vnto Iuft Solemnitie ;
 As not to bring their tributary Layes,
 To Frontispice the Marble of his praise ?
 Not so, nor so ; for sooner shall that Hill
 Whereas they sit *Achaia's* Champion fill ?
 Sooner shall *Aganippe's* springs grow scant,
 And *Phœbus'* Darlings sacred liquor want,

Then that great *James* his consecrated Vrne,
 Shall want Fame's Vestall flames ; which still shall burne
 Till Time's last period, and shall neuer die,
 Till all things fade, except Eternitie.
 For waſt not that the Muses ſtood at gaze
 Vpon that Sunne ; whose ſplendor did amaze
 Their dazeled ſenes ? Waſt not that his life
 Within their doubtfull Iudgements rai'd a ſtrife,
 And made their Conſort to demurre at large,
 Before they durſt to vndergoe this charge ;
 Thinking their outward Varniſh might deface
 His inward worth, perfection, forme and grace ;
 Had it not been their candor ſcornes to giue
 Fame's Funeralls to Princes whilſt they liue ?
 Or that their Synode did deſire to fee
 The finall Act of his Mortalitie ?

Some

(8.)

Some *Johnson*, *Drayton*, or ſome *Herick* would
 Before this time haue chaſtred the Mould
 Of his perfections ; and in liuing Lines,
 Haue made them knowne before theſe mourning times.
 Nor was our *James* his life more firme and ſure,
 More free, and ſpotleſſe, ſublime and pure ;
 Then was his farewell to this ſinfull earth,
 Which brought him to Eternitie's firſt birth :
 So that a fruitfull Panegericke field,
 His Life and Death vnto the Learned yeeld ;

Where after all the volumes of their praise,
 Their sable sheets, and Elegiacke Layes,
 They may conclude, *James* liu'd and died so well,
 That Life and Death in him were parallel.
 His life, was not like some *Aprilian* blast,
 Which endeth in a cloudy storme at last.
 Nor was it like some Riuers Christall source,
 Which muddy runnes in his continued course:
 For as he liu'd, so did this Monarch die,
 And left for patterne to Posteritie,
 The bright examples of his life and death,
 Shining like *Ledae's* twinnes, on heauen, on earth.
 Thus to be briefe, he liu'd and dyed so well,
 That Life and Death stroue both which shoulde excell.
 For when that *Galen's* skill could not appease
 The raging of his Callentur'd disease;
 When Death approached, and the fatall knife
 Began to touch the cordiall strings of life:
 Hee knowing, that th' Egyptian tottering reed
 Of humane helpe, and succour could not steed
 His Soule in this distresse; did not relye
 Vpon that broken Collumne, but did flie

To

(9.)

To that all-helping, and all-healing hand,
 Which for his good, still moouing, still did stand.
 His Conscience being iealous of those faults,
 Of those transgressiue crimes, and those defaults,

Which prest his Soule ; before his finall gaspe,
Their Counting-booke he plainly did vnclaspe,
And fully did confesse that Massie of Sinne,
Which hee from's youth to's elder Age did spinne ;
He knowing true repentance for to bee
A second *Jordan* for that Leprosie,
Which ouerpreads the Soule ; and that the Balme
Of *Marie's* teares was soueraigne for his harme.
Hee grinds his carnall heart, and straight relents,
Hee flies from Law to Grace, and then repents
For all those sinnes, which raise the parting wall,
And make the creature from th' Creator fall :
Hee grieues for them, as though hee meant no more
To grieue for sinnes, like to those sinnes before.
Then mounted on the Cherub of his Faith,
Hee thus and thus to his Redeemer faith :
The dreadfull terrors of the gaping Graue
Cannot my Courage, nor my Zeale depraue :
I know that Death eu'n with his grimmeſt face,
Can but this rotten House of clay deface,
And that, that last *Omega* well to die,
Is but the *Alpha* to Eternitie.
I know my sinnes are great, and that their fright
Might iuſtly bring an euerlaſting night
Vpon my penſiue Soule ; but that my Hope,
Loyn'd with a liuely Faith, doth vnder-prop
These humane frailties, and doe make mee flie
From Feare's ſad Manfion, to that Christall Skie

Where

(10.)

Where my Redeemer liues, who doth receiue
All those who leauie finne, before finne them leauie.
But though my faults be great, my priuate fense
Doth thus farre comfort my sad Conscience,
That though they be, of a vermillion die
I neuer yet left my fidelitie
To Faith nor true Religion ; but did lay
My sole foundation on that Rockie stae :
This was the Pole, the Pillar, and the light,
Which did direct my finne-eschewing figh.
From the first day, that I this light did see
To this last act of my mortalitie.
Then calling for the sacred Bread and Wine,
Which powerfully doth man and God combine,
He takes it from that learned Prelat's hand,
Which *Lincolne's* Sea rules as Diocefian ;
And this he did vpon that glorious day,
VWherein he first did *England's* Scepter fway.
Twise had the Sunne his smoaking Axe steep't,
Within the Billowes of the Westerne deepe,
When *Saturne* look't vpon the third daie's light,
With a malignant, ill fore-boading figh ;
For two howres after that sad middaie's date
Hee lost his Speech ; which did prognosticate
The dire disaster of this Monarch's death ;
Who next day left/ that Mansion house of earth,
And laid his Royall earthly Scepter downe,
To put on heau'n's immortalized Crowne.

But after that his speech began to faile,
And pale-fac't Death did eu'ry sensse affaile ;
When as they prai'd or read, to those sweete lines
He gaue consent with cleere transparent signes,

By

(ii.)

By lifting up his hands, his armes, his eies,
To him that dwels aboue th' all-Circling skyes.
But on the Sunday morne, foure howres before
The Sunne saluted *England's* Easterne shore ;
Hee calling for his Sonne, lift's vp his head,
By *Ramsey's* helpe, from off the fatall bed,
Where his last act was kissing of his Sonne,
And his last words were calling still vpon
His Princely *CHARLES* ; who did euen melt,
For those sad paines which dying *JAMES* then felt.
Hence in the mid'ft of those suspiciois feares,
That mas of woes, those Cataracks of teares,
His Royall Race, his Stock that's left behind,
May in their mourning thoughts this comfort finde ;
That all's not dead ; for one part is ascended,
T'other being duft, to duft is now descended ;
Whereas a pawne ingag'd that mortall lies,
Till glorified immortall it shall rise.
And as for me though that blacke Sundaie's light,
Whereon grim *Saturne* look't as blacke as night,
And th' heauen's powr'd such stormes of melting sho-
Out of *Aquarius* tempest-breathing bowres ; (wres,

And wept as though his Loffe they did lament,
 In whom the world receiu'd so much content.
 Although that day shall ne're be registred
 In my sad thoughts, nor once be kalendred
 Amongst the white ones, but be mark'd for bad
 Prodigious, Dismall, Ominous, and Sad.
 Yet this shall be a Cordiall to my mind,
 Vertues did adde before, Fame adds behind,
 Life to his life ; which shall for euer last
 Beyond Time's power, and false detraction's blast ;

Yet

(12.)

Yet this shall be my comfort, that his Throne
 VVants not a CHARL's fit for succeffion ;
 Vnder whose Raigne, this Sea-deuided Land,
 VVhich runnes from *Kantium* to th' *Orcadian* Strand ;
 Vnder whose Raigne, fat *Ireland* and faire *France*
 Shall lift up their dejected countenance
 VVith mirth and gladnesse. For no forraigne foe,
 This *Neptune*-girdled Monarchie shall know
 Nor feele within her entralls ; no State cankers,
 With publike miseries shall glut their rankors ;
 No Court-*Hyrudoes* shall make Iustice bleede,
 Nor on the Commons' desolation feede ;
Elizae's dayes shall once againe returne,
 And *JAMES* his daies rise out of *JAMES* his vrne.
 Let vs not then who doe furuiue him here
 In this darke vale, with fable mourning-cheere

Lament him more, since he doth live, though dead,
 Within his CHARLES ; since that his glorious head
 Is Heau'n-Thronized, where he now doth sing
Alleluiae's to the Cœlestiall King,
 Among'ſt the winged troopes ; where he now fees
 The perfect shape of faithe's darke misteries ;
 And that not in a glasse, but face to face
 Reflected from the splendor of that grace,
 VVhich giues us faith below ; and then aboue,
 Immortall Knowledge, Wisedome, Truth and Loue.

Annagra-

(13.)

Anagramata Anglica-Latina,
 OR

Certaine Anagrams applied vnto the
 death of our late Soueraigne King
 IAMES of blessed Memorie.

KING IAMES.
I am seeking.

WHAT didſt thou ſeeke, O *Iames*, Great Brittaine's
 King ?
 Waſt Scepters more, or Diadems, to bring
 Vnto thy rule ? or ſought's thou to ſubdue
 By ſubtill Plots, or *Mars* his warlike crew

Thy smooth-toung'd foes? who had they had but power
 Would not haue spar'd, blood-storming showers to poure
 Vpon thy Selfe, thy Kingdome, and thy Race;
 But would haue sought Great Brittaine to deface,
 And doe to thee, as they haue done to thofe
 Whom iuft pretences made them lawfull foes.
 Or did'st thou seeke by force to make the *Rhine*
 Re-acknowledge homage to the *Palatine*?
 Or sought's thou by new conquests to obtaine
 Another World vpon the Westerne maine?
 Not thus, nor thus, for thy diuiner bent
 Did neuer rest vpon the Firmament
 Of these proiections; for thy chiefeſt aime
 Was Heau'n on Earth, and from Earth Heau'n to gaine;
 On Earth, ô King, thou ne're sought's Earthly treasures,
 'Twas Iuſtice, Piety, Peace, and Heauen's pleasures;
 These were the things, which thou great Monarch sought
 And th' only scopes of thy Cœleſtiall thoughts.

An-

(14.)

Another upon the ſame.

O Hee is gone, for whom the Sisters three
 Of grace doe mourne, and chide with destinie:
 O he is gone for whom *Apollo* sings
 A fatall Dirge, vnto his weeping ſtrings:
 O hee is gone, for whom the Muses crie
 In fable weeds with dolefull melodie.

But although *Iames* bee gone, hee's gone to *seeke*
 That Mansion, where the King of Kings *doth keepe* ;
 Yet all's not gone, for Heauen keepes his Spirit,
 Fame his remembrance, Honour his due Merit.
 Thus being loft, hee's found, and seeking finds
 That happinesse, which earth-deuoted minds
 Doe neuer seeke, nor euer shall obtaine,
 Because they seeke not heau'n on earth to gaine.

Anagrammata Latina.

IACOBVS REX.

Bis Rex Vaco.

QVi modo regnauit trino Diademate cinctus
 Bis Rex Imperio, bis Diadema gerens :
Cuius erat quicquid diuisus ab orbe Brittannus
Poffidet, & pulchri quicquid Hybernum habet.
Nunc ego mundanis curis & mole solutus
Ethereâ Liber spiritus arce vaco.

Aliud

(15.)

Aliud in idem.

Dignus eras cunis Scotiæ Diademate, dignus
 Qui gereres tenera Regia sceptra manu ;
Dignus eras, quum te senior cognouerat ætas,
Annofa vt gereres sceptra Brittana manu.

*Bisq; coronatus, meliori cincta corona
 Tempora pro meritis, nunc Iacobe, tenes :
 Sic tibi post triplex, triplicata pericula regni,
 Post haec Diuinis rebus adesse vacat.*

Aliud Anagramma.

IACOBVS REX.

Ob curas Exi.

*Q*Vi triplicis Regni totidem moderatus habenas,
Bisq; coronatus nostro regnauerat Orbe,
Cuius erat, quicquid toto circumflua ponto
Insula diues habet, quicquid quæ a Virgine terræ
Nomen habet, habuit, vel quicquid Hybernia tota :
Post varias curas, & multa pericula Regni
Hac tumulatus humo, fælici conditur vena.
Exutus, sic exiuit, sic pondere liber
Terreno, ad manes facilis migrauit Elysæ,
Henriciq; Annæq; suæ, iunctusq; coroneæ
Cœlicolum, æterna fælix, dominatur in aula.

FINIS.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Epistle-dedictory to LORD CONWAY and SIR FRANCIS POPHAM—see our Introduction on these : l. 9, ‘*Panegiris*’=transition-form of panegyric : p. 114, l. 17, ‘*fly'd*’=flew : p. 115, l. 3, ‘*Syttim*’—mis-spelled with three t’s=Shittim, i.e. Shittah, a species of acacia—with a tacit reference to the sacred ‘cheſt’ or ark : p. 118, l. 8, ‘*pratique*’—mis-printed ‘*Pracique*’: p. 117, l. 6, ‘*forbear*’—mis-printed ‘*ferbeare*’: *ibid.*, l. 15, ‘*Ignatian Conclave*’=Jefuits, after their founder Ignatius Loyola : p. 118, l. 1, ‘*Argilian*’=Argyle or Highland : *ibid.*, l. 22, ‘*Callenture*’=violent fever : *ibid.*, ll. 24-5, ‘*Beame-lands*’ and ‘*Sycambria's*’—see our Introduction : p. 119, l. 23 onward—see our Introduction on King James’s Works as here celebrated : p. 120, l. 18, ‘*objequious right*’—right of obsequies : p. 121, l. 19, ‘*Herick*’—see our Introduction on this : p. 122, l. 18, ‘*cordiall*’=heart-strings, with play on ‘cor’, the heart : p. 125, l. 12, ‘*Ramsey's help*’—see our Introduction : p. 126, l. 6 (from bottom) ‘*Court-Hyrduoe*’—*Ibid.*—G.

III.

THE LEGEND AND DEFENCE OF
SIR JHON OLDCASTELL.

NOTE.

Of ‘The legend and defence of y^e Noble Knight and Martyr Sir Jhon Oldcastel,’ and Shakespeare’s Sir John Falstaff, see our Introduction; wherein I notice other poems in vindication of Oldcastle. The ‘Legend,’ etc., has never before been printed, though frequently referred to. For a painstaking transcript of James’s notes I owe best thanks to Mr. F. Madan, M.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford, who has transmuted into a pleasure what sooth to say might have been regarded as mere copyist’s professional task-work. Somehow the late Mr. Corser is uncharacteristically inaccurate in his quotations from the ‘Observations,’ especially in the Latin and French. In the MS. (small folio) there is (a) Title: (b) Epistle-dedicatory: (c) Occleve’s ‘Legend,’ with a few marginal notes, probably his own, and consisting chiefly of citations from St. Augustine, etc., alluded to, or corroborative of, passages in the poem: (d) on page 20 (modern method of paging, and really fol. 9b, not 10b) begin ‘Observations vpon Hoccleve,’ which continue to the end (p. 34, really fol. 15b). The MS. is No. 34 in the James Collection in the Bodleian.—G.

The legend and defence of y^e

Noble knight and Martyr

Sir Jhon Oldcastel

Sett forth

By Richard James Bachelour of

divinitie and fellowe of .CC.C.

in Oxford

* * *

*

Aristotle

"Οσιον προτιμῶν τὴν ἀληθείαν



[EPISTLE-DEDICATORY.]

To my Noble friend S^r Henrye Bourchier.

SIR HARRIE BOURCHIER, you are descended of Noble Auncestry, and in the dutie of à good man loue to heare and see faire reputation preferud from flander and oblivion. Wherefore to you I dedicate this edition of Ocleve, where S^r Jhon Oldcaftell apeeres to haue binne a man of valour and vertue, and onely loft in his owne times because he would not bowe vnder the foule superstition of papistrie; from whence in so great light of Gosple and learning that there is not yet à more vniversall departure, is to me the greatest scorne of men. But of this more in another place, and in preface, will you please to heare me that which follows. A young Gentle Ladie of your acquaintance, having read y^e works of Shakespeare, made me this question : How Sir Jhon Falstaffe, or Fastolf,¹ as it is written in y^e statute book of Maudlin Colledge in Oxford, where everye daye y^t societie were bound to make memorie of his soule, could be dead in Harrie y^e Fifts

¹ From *Fastolf* to *soule* is added interlineally and in the margin, in James's handwriting.

time, and againe liue in y^e time of Harrie y^e fixt to be banisht for cowardize? Whereto I made answeare that this was one of those humours and mistakes for which Plato banisht all poets out of his commonwealth: that Sir Jhon Falstaffe was in those times à Noble valiant souldier as apeeres by à book in the Heralds office dedicated vnto him by à herald whoe had binne with him if I well remember for y^e space of 25 yeeres in y^e French wars; that he seemes also to haue binne à man of learning, because in à librarie of Oxford I finde à book of dedicating churches sent from him for à present vnto Bisshop Wainflete and inscribed with his owne hand. That in Shakespeares first shewe of Harrie ye fift, y^e person with which he vndertook to playe a buffone was not Falstaffe, but S^r Jhon Oldcastle, and that offence beinge worthily taken by personages descended from his title, as peradventure by manie others also whoe ought to haue him in honourable memorie, the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte of abusing S^r John Falstaffe or ¹Fastolphe, à man not inferior of vertue though not so famous in pietie as the other, whoe gaue witnesse vnto the truth of our reformation with à constant and resolute martyrdom, vnto which he was pursued by the priests, Bishops, Moncks, and Friers of those dayes. Noble Sir, this is all my preface. God keepe your and me, and all Christian people from the bloodie desigues of that cruell religion.

Yours in all observance

RICH. JAMES.

¹ *Falstaffe or* is erased in the MS.



Ceste feust faidte au temps que le Roy Henri
le cinquiesme que Dieu pardoine feust a Hamp-
ton sur son primer paſſage vers Harflete.

* *
*

I.

THE ladder of hevene I meine chartee
Comandith vs if our brothir be falle
In to errour, to haue of him pitee
And seeke weyes in our wittes alle
How we maye him ageyn to vertu call.
And in gretter errour ne knowe I noon
Than thow that dronke haast heresies gall
And art fro Chryſtes feith twynned and goon.

2.

Allas that thow that were à manly knyght
And shoon ful cleer in famous worthyneſſe
Standing in the favour of everye wight
Haſt loſt the ſtyle of Christenly prowefſe

Among alle hem that stand in the cleereneſſe
 Of good byleeue, and no man with the holdith
 Saif curſid caitifs heires of dirkneſſe.
 For verray routhe of thee myn herte coldith.

3.

Thow haſt maad à faire permutacion
 Fro Cryſtes lore to feendly doctryne,
 From honour and fro dominacion
 Vnto repreef and meschevous vnyne
 Fro Criſten folk to hethenly covyne
 Fro ſeuretee vnto vnsikneſſe,
 Fro joye and eſe vnto wo and pyne,
 Fro light of trouthe vnto dirk falſineſſe.

4.

O Oldcaſtel allas what eilid thee
 To ſlippe into the ſnare of heretie,
 Thurgh which thow foo art to the Trinitie
 And to the bleſſed virgyne Marie,
 And to the innumerable holy compaignie
 Of hevene, and to all holy chirche allas.
 To longe haſt thou bathid in that folie,
 Ryſe vp and pourge thee of thy trefpas.

5.

Seint Austyn feith, whiles à man abydith
 In heretie or ſcifme, and lift nat flee
 Ther fro, his ſoule fro. God he dividith,
 And may nat ſaved been in no degree.

Augustinus de fide ad Petrum.
 Firmiffime tene et nullatenus
 dubites, quemlibet haereticum
 etc. qui Ecclesias Catholicae
 non tenet unitatem neq; baptiſtis
 neq; elemosyna quantitate
 copiofa, neq; mors
 pro Christi nomine ſucepta
 proficeret poterit ad ſalutem.

For what man holdith nat the vntee
 Of holy Chirche, neither his bapteeme,
 Ne his almesse how large that it be
 To helthe him profytt, ne God queeme.

6.

And yet moreover he feith thus also,
 Thogh that an heretyk for Cryfes name
 Shede his blood, and his lyf for Cryft forgo .
 Shal nat him sauе. Allas the harm and shame !
 May nat thy smert thy sturdy herte attame ?
 Obeie, obeie in the name of JHESU.
 Thow art of merit and of honour l'ame,
 Conquere hem two, and the arme in vertu.

7.

De Theodosij illustris Imperatoris obedientiali humiliitate refpice in bistoria tripartita lib. ixi ybi narrat, cum apud Theſſalonicanam civitatem etc.

If thyn hy herte bolnyng in errour
 To holy chirche cannot buxum be,
 Beholde THEodosius Emperour
 How humble and buxum vnto God was he.
 No reward took he of his dignitee,
 But as à lamb to holy chirche obeide.
 In the scripture may men rede and se
 How meekly of the Bishop grace he preide.

8.

Th' offense which that he ageyn God wroghte
 Was nat so greet as thyn by many fold,
 And yit ful hevy he was and it forthoghte,
 Obeyyng as that holy Chirche hath wold.

Thow that thy soule to the feends haast sold,
 Bye it agayne thirogh thyn obedience.
 Thyn heresie is al to hoor and old.
 Correct thee at Crystes reverence.

9.

And for thy soules helthe do eeke so,
 Thy pride quenche and thy presumpcion.
 Wher thow haast been to Crystes feith à fo
 Plante in thyn herte à deep contricion,
 And hennes foorth be Crystes champion.
 The welle of mercy renneth al in brede,
 Drynke thereof, syn ther is swich foysonn.
 Thyn hertes bottel therof fill I rede.

10.

Thow haast offended God wondirly fore,
 And natheles if thow the wilt amende
 Thogh thy gilt wer à thowsand tymes more
 Axe him mercy and he wile it the fende.
 Thou art vnwys thogh thow the wys pretende.
 And so been all of thyn opinioun.
 To God and holy Chirche thow thee bende
 Caste out thy venym thurgh confessioun.

11.

Scriptum est; offendite vos
facerdotibus.

Thow seist confession auriculeer
 Ther needith noon, but it is the contrarie
 Thou lookist mis, thy fighte is nothing cleere,
 Holy writ therein is thyn adverfarie.

And Clerkes all fro thy conceit varie,
 That Crystes partie holden and maynteene.
 Leue that conceit, leſt that thou miscarie
 Waar of the fwerd of God, for it is keene.

12.

Augustin, de Visitatione infir-
 morum dicit. In muro civi-
 tatis supernae apponendus es
 lapis vivus, in cuius edificio
 non auditur securis aut mal-
 leus. Hic perferendus est fire-
 pitus, hic adiciendus est lapidi
 malleus, hic conterendum est
 totum lapidis supervacuum.
 Streptus peccatorum tuorum
 recordatio super quibus per-
 strepit in aure facerdotis hu-
 millima tua confessio.

Heer in this lyf vnto Gods mercy crie
 And with the axe or hammer of penance
 Smyte on the ftoon, flee thyn obſtinacie,
 Haue of thy synnes hevy remembrance.
 Rowne in the preefes ere and the grevance
 Of thy soule meekly to him confesse
 And in the wal of hevne is no doutance
 Thow shalt à qwik ftoon be for thy goodnesse.

13.

O Oldcastel how hath the feend thee blent?
 Where is thy knyghtly herte? art thou his thrall?
 Thou errest foule eek in the sacrament
 Of the auter. But how in speciall
 For to declare it needith nat at all.
 It knownen is in many à regiouun.
 Now syn the feend hath yoven the à fall,
 Qwyte him, let fee, ryse vp and flynge him down.

14.

Ryse vp à manly knyght out of y^e flowe
 Of heresie, O lurker as à wrecche
 Where as thou erred haast, correcte it now
 By humbleſſe, thou mayſt to mercy ſtreſſe.

To holy Chirche go and there fecche
 The holsum oyle of absolucion.
 If thow of sowles hurt ne shame recche
 Thow leefist hevene and al knyghtly renoun.

15.

Par cas thow to thy self shame it arettifst
 Vnto prelats of holy Chirche obeie.
 If it so be, thy conceit thow misfettifst
 What man aright can in his herte weye
 The trouthe of that? To Jesu Cryft I seye
 Principally is that obedience.
 God hath ordeyned preefes to purveye
 Salve of penance for mans offence.

16.

Vnto Seint Petir and his successours
 And so foorth doun God hath his power lent.
 Go to the preef, correct thyn errours
 With herte contryt vnto God ybent.
 Dispute no more of the sacrament.
 As holy Chirche biddith folwe it.
 And hennes forward as by myn assent
 Presume nat so mochil of thy wit.

17.

I put cas à prelat or à preef
 Him viciously governe in his lyvynge.
 Thou oghtest reewe on it whan thow it seest,
 And folwe him nat, but aftir his techinge

Thow oghest do, and for thyn obeyyng
 Thow shalt be sauf, and if he teche amis,
 Toforn God shal he yeue à rekenyng
 And that à streite, the greet peril is his.

18.

Fides non habet meritum, etc. Lete holy Chirche medle of the doctrine
 Of Cryftes lawes and of his byleeue.
 And let all othir folk thereto enclyne
 And of our feith noon argumentes meeue.
 For if we might our feith by reson preeue
 We sholde no meryt of our feith haue.
 But now à dayes à Baillif or à Reeue
 Or man of craft wele in it dote or rauue.

19.

Some women eek thogh hir wit be thynne
 Wele argumentes make in holy writ.
 Lewde calates sittith down and spynne
 And kakele of sumwhat elles, for your wit
 Is all to feeble to dispute of it.
 To Clerkes grete apparteneth that aart,
 The knowleche of that God hath fro you shit.
 Stynte and leue of, for right scelendre is your paart.

20.

Our fadres olde and modres lyved wel,
 And taghte hir children as hem self taght were
 Of holy Chirche and axid nat à del
 Why stant this word heer and why this word there

Why spake God thus and feith thus elles where
 Why did he this wye and mighty ha[n] do thus.
 Our fadres medled nothyng of swich gere,
 That oughte been a good mirour to vs.

21.

If land to the be falle of heritage
 Which that thy Fadir heeld in reste and pees
 With title just and trewe in al his age
 And his Fadir before him brygtees,
 And his and his and so foorth, doutelees
 I am ful feur who so woulde it the[e] reve,
 Thow woldest the defende and putte in prees
 Thy right, thow woldest nat thy thankes leue.

22.

Right so where as our good fadres olde
 Posseſſid were and hadden the seifyne
 Peifible of Cryftes feithe and no man wolde
 Impugne hir right, it fit vs to enclyne
 Thereto, let vs no ferther ymagyne
 But as that they did occupie our right,
 And in our hertes fully determyne
 Our title good and keepe it with our might.

23.

Who so hath right and nat wele it deffende
 It is no manhode, it is cowardyse,
 And as in this cas he shal God offend
 So grevously, that he shal nat souffyse

The maugree for to bere in no wyse.
 Fro Cryft that right first grew, and if that we
 Nat shuln susseene it, we ben ful vnwyse.
 Him self is feith, right, trouthe, and al bontee.

24.

Lege Nemo. Nemo clericus
 vel cuiuslibet alterius condic-
 tions de fide Christianâ pub-
 licè turbis coadunatis et audi-
 entibus tractare conetur in
 posterum ex hoc tumultus et
 perfidiae occationem requirens,
 etc. et ibi exprefatur pena in
 bujumodi causa exequendis.

The Cristen Emperour Justinian
 As it is written who so list it see
 Made à law deffending everye man
 Of what condicion or what degree
 That he were of nat sholde hardie bee
 For to dispute of the feith openly,
 And theraypon fundry peynes sette he
 That peril sholde eschued be therby.

25.

Bewar Oldcastel and for Cryftes sake
 Clymbe no more in holy writ so hie,
 Rede the storie of Lancelot de Lake
 Or Vegece of the aart of Chivalrie.
 The segee of Troye or Thebes the applie
 To thyng that may to th' ordre of knyght longe
 To thy correction now haast and hie,
 For thou haast been out of joint al to longe.

[Vegetius.]

26.

If the[e] lift thyng rede of auctoritee,
 To these storiess fit it the to goon,
 To Judicum Regum and Josue,
 To Judith and to Paralipomenon,

THE LEGEND AND DEFENCE OF

And Machabe, and as siker as stoon,
If the list in hem bayte thyn ye,
More autentik things shalt thou finde noon
Ne more pertinent to chivalrie.

27.

Knyghtes so dide in tymes that be past,
Whan they had tendrenesse of hir office.
In Cryfthes feith they stooden stidefaſt
And as that the preefthir foules norice
Hem goostly fedde and yaf hem the notice
Of Chryfthes lore, with obedience
They took it. But now regneth swich malice
That buxumnesse is put in abſtinence.

28.

O Constantyn thou prince of hy nobleye,
O Christen Emperour whos worthinesse
Desdeyned nat to holy Chirche obeye,
But dideſt al thy peyne and bifynesse
With wel disposid ſpirit of meeknesse.
The Ministres of God for to honure
How thou wroghtifft haſt thou fo strong witnesſe
That lyue it ſhal whil the world wele endure.

29.

dmirabili honore quem
antimus Imperator ext
Ecclesiis Ministris ita
tur. Deus vos confituit
lotes et potefatorem dedit
judicandi et ideo nos a
judicamur, vos autem
potestis ab hominibus
iri.

Thow took nat on the hir correction,
Ne vpon hem thou yaf no jugement.
Swich was to God thy good affection.
Thow feideſt, they been Goddes to vs fent,

And that it is nothing convenient,
 That à man sholde Goddes juge and deeme.
 Thow were à Noble and à worthy Regent,
 Wel was byset on thee thy diadeeeme.

30.

Blessid be God fro whom deryved is
 Al grace, our lige Lord which that is now
 Our feithfull Cristen Prince and King in this
 Folwith thy steppes. O for shame thow
 Oldcafel, thou haast longe tyme ynow
 Folwed the feend thogh thow no longer do.
 Do by my reed, it shal be for thy prow.
 Flee fro the fend, folwe tho princes two.

31.

Reward had and consideracioun
 Vnto the dignitees of tho persones
 Thow art of à scars reputacioun
 A foward herte haast thow for the nones,
 Bowe and correcþe thee, come of at ones.
 Fowle haast thou lost thy time, many à day.
 For thyne vnfeith men maken many mones,
 To God retorne and with his feith dwell ay.

32.

Thogh God thee haue souffryd regne à whyle
 Be nat to bold, bewar of his vengeance.
 He tarieth, for thow sholdist reconfyle
 Thee to hym and leue thy mescreaunce.

Holsum to thee now were à variaunce
Fro the feend to our Lord God, and fro
Vice vnto vertu, that were his hy plesaunce
And his modres mankyndes mediatrice.

33.

Some of thy fetheres weren plukkid late
And mo shuln be, thow shalt it nat afterte,
Thou art nat wys ageyne God to debate.
The flood of pryd caste out of thyn herte,
Grace is alyue, to God thee converte.
Thow maist been his if thee lift obeie.
If thow nat wilt so, forrer shalt thow smerte
Than herte of man may thynke or tonge seye.

34.

Almighty God thow Lord of al and Syre
Withouten whom is no goodnes wroght,
This knyght of thyn habundant grace enspyre,
Remember how deer that thow haast him boght.
He is thyn handwerk, Lord refuse him noght.
Thogh he the haue agilt outrageously.
Thow that for mercy deideft change his thought,
Benigne Lord enable hitn to mercy.

35.

Ye that perverted him ye folks dampnable,
Ye heretikes that han him betrayed
That manly was, worthy and honurable,
Or that he had of your venym assayed,

I doubt it nat your wages shal be payed
 Sharply, but ye correct your trespass.
 In your fals error shul yee been outrayed
 And beene enhabited with Satanas.

36.

Yee with your slie coloured argumentes
 Which that contenен nothing but falshode
Han in this knight put so feendly ententes
 That he is overcharged with the lode
 Which yee han leid on his good old knyghthode
 That now à wrecchid knyght men call may.
 The lak of feith hath quenchid his manhode,
 His force ageyn God naught is at assay.

37.

Prince of Preefes our lige Lord yee calle
 In scorn, but it is à style of honour.
 Auctoritie of preef excedith alle
 Eerthely powers, thogh it seeme four
 To the taaft of your detestable error.
 They that in the feith been constant and fad
 In Seint Petres wordes han good favour
 And fayn been to fulfill that he bad.

38.

All eerthely princes and othir men
 Bisshops to obeie commandid he.
 Ye han no grownd to hold ther ayen.
 Spirituell thynges passe in dignitee

All the thinges temporel that be
 As moche as doth the soule the body.
 In the scriptures ferche and ye shul see
 That it no lees at al is hardily.

39.

Two lightes God made in the firmament
 Of hevene, a more made and à lesse.
 The gretter light to the day hath he lent
 It for to serve in his clear brightnesse.
 The smaller to the nyght in soothfastnesse
 He lente also to helpe it with his light.
 Two dignitees they toknen in liknesse
 Auctoritee papal and kynkes might.

40.

Looke how moche and how grete diversitee
 Betwixt the fonne ther is and the moone,
 So moche is à popes auctoritee
 Aboue à kynges might, good is to doone
 That yee aryse out of your error foone
 That therein walwid han, goon is ful yore.
 And but yee do, God I byseeche à boone.
 That in the fyr yee feele may the sore.

41.

Yee that nat sette by preeftes power
 Cryftes rebels and foos men may yow call
 Yee waden in presumpcion so fer
 Your soules to the feend yee foule thrall.

Yee seyn, à preeft on deedly fynne fall
 If he so go to messe he may not make
 Crystes body, falsly yee erren all
 That holden so, to deepe yee ranfafe.

42.

As wel may à preeft that is vicious
 That precious body make day by day
 As may à preeft that is ful vertuous.
 But waer the preeft, his soule it hurte may
 And shal but he cleene be, it is no nay.
 Be what he be, the preeft is instrument
 Of God, thurgh whos wordes trufith this ay
 The preeft makith the bleffid sacrament.

43.

Yee medle of al thing, yee moot shoo the goos,
 How knownen yee what lyf à man is ynne.
 Your fals conceites renne aboute loos.
 If à preeft synfull be and fro God twynne
 Thurgh penitence he may agein God wynne.
 No Wight may clearly knownen it or gesse
 That any preeft beyng in deedly fynne
 For awe of God dar to the messe him dresse.

44.

Ye seyn also ther sholde be no Pope
 But he the beste preeft were vpon lyue.
 O whereto grafpen yee so fer and grope
 Aftir swich thyng, yee mowe it never dryue

To the knowleche, nothing therof stryue.
 Meddle nat therwith, let al swich thing paffe
 For if that yee do shul yee never thryue,
 Yee been ther in as lewde as is an asse.

45.

Many men owtward seemeth wondir good,
 And inward is he wondir fer ther fro.
 No man be juge of that but he be wood,
 To God longith that knowleeche and no mo.
 Thogh he be right synfull, sooth is also
 The hy power that is to him committid
 As large as Petres is, it is right so,
 Among feithful folk this is admittid.

46.

What is the lawe the werse of nature
 If that à juge vſe it nat aright ?
 No thyng God woot, avyse him that the cure
 Ther of hath take, looke he do but right.
 Waar that he nat stonde in his owne light.
 Good is that he his soule keepe and saue.
 Your fals conceites puttith to the flight
 I rede, and Crystes mercy axe and haue.

47.

Yee that pretenden folwers for to be
 Of Crystes disciples, nat lyue sholde
 Aftir the fleschly lustes as doon yee
 That rekken nat whos wyf yee take and holde,

Swich lyf the disciples nat lyue wolde
For curfid is the fynne of advoutrie.
But yee ther in so hardy been and bolde
That yee no fynne it holden, ne folie.

48.

If yee so holy been as ye witnesse
Of your self, thanne in Crystes feith abyde.
The disciples of Chryst had hardynesse
For to apeere, they nat wolde hem hyde
For fere of deeth but in his cause dyde.
They fledden nat to halkes ne to hernes
As yee doon that holden the feendes syde
Which arn of dirknesse the lanternes.

49.

Ne nevere they in forcible maneere
With wepnes roos to flee folk and affaill
As ye diden late in this contree heere
Ageyn the king stryf to rere and battaill.
Blessid be God of your purpos yee faill
And faill shuln, ye shuln nat foorth therwith.
Yee broken meynhee, ye wrecchid raiſcaill
Been all to weyk, ye han therto no pith.

50.

Also yee holden ageyn pilgrimages
Which arne ful goode if that folk wel hem vſe,
And eek ageyne the makyng of ymages.
What, al is nat worth that ye clappe and muse,

How can ye by reson your self excuse
 That ye nat erren, whan yee folk excite
 To vice and stir hem vertu to refuse?
 Waar Goddes strook, it peifeth nat à lyte.

51.¹[60].

For to visite Seintes is vertu.
 If that it doon be for devocioun,
 And elles good is be therof eschu.
 Meede wirkith in good entencioun,
 Be cleene of lyf and be in orisoun,
 Of synne talke nat in thy viage.
 Let vertu gyde thee froo toun to toun,
 And so to man profiteth pilgrimage.

52 [61].

And to holde ageyn ymages makynge
 Be they maad in entaill or in peynture
 Is greet errorur, for they yeven stiryng
 Of thoghtes goode, and causen men honure
 The Seint aftir whom maad is that figure,
 And nat worshippe it how gay it be wroght.
 For this knowith wel euery creature
 That reson hath, that à Seint it is noght.

53 [62].

Right as à spectacle helpith feeble fighte
 Whan à man on the book redith or writ

¹ So the MS. is mis-numbered 60, and similarly in succeeding stanzas—placed within brackets to show this. Query—any stanzas between omitted by James?

And caufith him to see bet than he mighte.
 In which spe~~c~~tacle his fighte nat abit
 But gooth thurgh and on the book restith it.
 The same may men of ymages feye,
 Thogh the ymage nat the feint be, yit
 The fighte vs myngith to the Seint to prey.

54 [63].

Ageyn posseſſions yee holden eek
 Of holy Chirche, and that is eek errour,
 Your inward yt is ful of smoke and reek.
 While heer on eerthe was our Saveour
 Whom Angels diden service and honor
 Purſes had he, why? for his Chirche sholde
 So haue eek aftir as feith myn auſtōr.
 Yee goon mis, al is wrong that yee holde.

55 [64].

Justinian Emperour had fwich cheertēe
 To holy Chirche as that feith the scripture,
 That of goodes how large or greet plentee
 If had of yifte of any creature.
 Him thoghte it youe in the beſte meſure
 That might been, his herte it loued ſo.
 Yee never yat hem good peradventure,
 What title han yee aght for to take hem fro.

56 [65].

And if yee had aght youē them or this time
 Standing in y^e feith as yee oghten ſtonde

Sholden they now for your change and your cryme
 Dispoillid been of that they haue in honde.
 Nay that no skile is yee shal vnderstonde.
 They night and day labourers in prayeere
 For [t]hem that so yaf stytith and nat fonde
 To do so, for first boght wele it be deere.

57 [66].

Presumpcion of wit and ydilnesse
 And covetyse of good, tho vices three
 Been cause of al your ydil bysfynesse.
 Yee seyn eek goodes commune ogheten be,
 That ment is in tyme of neceſſitee
 But nat by violence or by maistrie
 My good to take of me or I of thee
 For that is verray wrong and robberie.

58 [67].

If that à man the foothe telle shal
 How that your hertes in this cafe beene fet,
 For to ryfle is your entente final.
 Yee han be bifly longe aboute à net
 And fayn wolde han it in the watir wet
 The fish to take which yee han purposid.
 But God and our Lord lige hath yow let.
 It nis ne shal been as yee han supposid.

59 [68].

Men seyn ye purpose haſtily apeere
 The worme for to ſleen in the pefecod

Come on whan yow liste, ye shul rewre it deere,
 The feend is your cheef and our heed is God.
 Thogh we had in our handes but à clod
 Of eerthe at your heedes to flinge or caste
 Were weyne ynow or à smal twig or rod,
 The feith of Christe stikith in vs so faste.

60 [69].

We dreden nat wee han greet avantage
 Whethir we lyue or elles slayne be we
 In Cryfes feith, for vp to hevenes stage
 If we so die our soules list shul be.
 And on that oþer parte yee feendes yee
 In the dirk halke of hell shul descende.
 And yit with vs abit this charitee,
 Our desire is that yee yow wolde amende.

61 [70].

Yee holden many an oþer error mo
 Than may be writen in à littil spâce,
 But lak of leisir me commandith ho.
 Almighty God byseeche I of his grace
 Enable yow to seene his bleffid face
 Which that in o[ne] God and persones three.
 Remember yow heuene is à miry place
 And helle is ful of sharp adverſitee.

62 [71].

Yit Oldcastel for him that his blood shadde
 Vp on the crois, to his feith turne agayn,

Forgette nat the loue he to vs hadde
 That blisful Lord, that for all vs was slain,
 From hennes forward trowble nat thy brayn:
 As thou haast doon agèyn the feith full fore.
 Chryste of thy soule glad be wolde and fayne,
 Retorne knyght now vnto his lore.

63 [72].

Repente the and with him make accord,
 Conquere meryt and honour, let see,
 Looke how our Cristen Prince our Lige Lord
 With many à Lord and knyght beyond the fee
 Laboure in armes and thou hydest thee
 And darst nat come and shewe thy visage.
 O fy for shame, how can à knygt be
 Out of thonur of this rial viage.

64 [73].

Sum time was no knyghtly turne no where
 Ne no manhode shewid in no wyse
 But Oldcastel wolde his thankes be there.
 How hath the cursid fiend changed thy gyse?
 Flee from hym and al his workes dispyse.
 And that ydoon vnto our Cristen Kyng
 The[e] hie as faste as that thou canst dywyse
 And humble eek thee to him for any thing.

*

Cest tout

* * *



OBSERVATIONS VPPON HOCCLEVE.

P. 20.

* *

2.



manly knyghte.' — Although this Noble knyghtes adverfaries in poincte of herefie spare not to speake all the venime of their hearts against him, as making him even Ante-christe himself, and dēvize in his name the Apocalypticall number of the beaste, yet thōse whoe wroughte at the time could not be so shameleſſe as to denie him the honour of all other Chriftian and gentle behaviour. Even in the spiritt of the Apostles and Apostolicall times, being fully refolvd¹ in heart that² the whole life and doctrine of y^e Roman superstition || was Antichristian, in testimonie P. 21. of evangelicall truth he was patient and constant in his martyrdom, notwithstanding that the Duke of Bedford

¹ The words *in heart* are erased.

² Before the word *the* a short word is erased : (*? even.*)

P. 21. and others much tempted him to à submision. As a brief extract from the cronicle of Thomas Elmham concerning Harrie y^e fifts time hath it. Tractus, suspensus, succensus, voce gemit nil.

* ‘*Saif curfid caitifs.*’—As Christe and his Apostles had the sclauder of the Scribes and pharisees, and in pretense of new doctrine were cruelly persecuted both by Jewes and Gentiles, so fared it with y^e Wicklevists and Waldenses, whoe had the boldenesse to restore evangelicall pietie. According to that they liud, they wrought, they sufferd, and even from their owne adversaries haue in those respects wonne many elogies. Howsoever their bloodie persecution for à long time ceased not ; the papall clergie everie where inciting princes to warre and massacre, whereof ould Gower speakes thus.

Pacificam Petri vaginam mucro resumens
Horruit ad Christi verba cruoris iter.
Nunc tamen assiduo gladium de sanguine tintum
Vibrat avaritia lege tepente facra.

5. ‘*Of holy chirche.*’—Bothe aunciently and in our ages there be great debates and quarrells aboue y^e church. But assuredly they are mooste of them vaine and factious. The Waldenses and the Wicklevist and all other names of our reformation departed not from the Church of Christe, whome they rather intended to followe neerely according to that doctrine which he hath prescribed vnto it in holie scripture, where himself and not the pope of Rome is head and commaunder. To the Churches wherein we live we owe indeede à great civil obedience, But if

yeither they or others pretending Christe shall fowly abufe
 themselves in manners and doctrine, from them wee apeale
 vnto the fountaines and mountaines of scripture, to vse the
 words of Cyprian and saint Chrysostome. and in retiring
 hether with integritie of heart though with the residue of
 our owne lives and fortunes we departe not from the
 church, but from Rome and Babylon, from whose crueltie
 good Lord deliver vs.

7. ‘*Beholde Theodosius.*’—The suddaine bloodie execu-
 tion of Theodosius is in storie fully sett downe, and for
 my parte the zele of Saint Ambrose is no lesse worthy
 an episcopall imitation. But for the papall Bisshops usur-
 pation vpon Christian princes, tis à wonder that Christians
 haue so long sufferd it. Cleere discoueries of this pointe
 are made by infinite manie writers, and of this I saye no
 more; But that howsoever prelats may vse their office
 civilly, yet Julius the 2^o had no authoritie from Christe
 vpon ¹his displeasure to give awaye the kingdome of
 Navarre from à right Christian prince vnto Ferdinand of
 Arragon, whoe in Nebrissensis his owne historians pane-
 gyrick could haue no other excuse in taking then that
 Navarre did before denormare Hispaniam.

8. ‘*Th' offence.*’—I haue heard à storie of à Spanish
 confessor that for murder and such like peccadillos in his
 penitent could finde somme excuse and satisfaction, but
 for eating an egg on Friday he grew into an infinite furie.
 Such may be the comparison betwixt the buiffnesse of the

¹ His seems to be erased.

P. 21. Emperour Theodosius and the most religious martyr S^r Jhon Oldcastell. The one in à furie, caused at Theffalonica, pefmel the just with the || vnjust, withoute all triall of lawe, seuen thowfand old and younge, to be mowed downe together,—for so historians exprefse the masſacre,—and fo befmeard with blood feares not to come to church. S^r Jhon Oldcastell à man otherwife vnablemisht, fayes his belief in English, liues according vnto the ten commaundements, is diligent to reade and search the scriptures, and being by them informed will no longer alienate himself from the finceritie of Christes gosple, and therefore the vnmanly priests and Monks with varietie of cruell torment put him to death: and certeinly as Theodosius is no exemple for the Noble knight in this case, so Sainct Ambroses behaviour is no authoritie for popes or prelates to triumphe over their liege princes, what he ¹ did, he did ² to the good liking of the Emperour, otherwife never disposed to doe him or his officers any ſuch like affronte. And the popes will tread vppon the necks of princes perforce, make them comme bare foote vppon ice, and doe à thowfand other abjeſt submissions, ſo long as they wilbe ſo foolish as to receive crownes of peacockes tailes from his abuſion: The places from whence I gather the behaviour of Sainct Ambrose with his prince in y^e buisneſſe of Theſſalonica are first ex ep. 28. lib. 5. Hunc ego impetum, faſh he, malui cogitationibus tuis ſecreto committere, quām meis factis publicē fortassis movere. Itaq_B, malui officio meo

¹ In the MS. *hid.*² In the MS. *to* is inserted later.

aliquid deesse quam humilitati, et requiri in me ab alijs p. 22.
sacerdotis autoritatem, quām à te desiderari in me aman-
tissime honorificantiam, vt represso impetu integra effet
confilij eligendi facultas. Ioinē to this another place ex
oratione de basilicis tradendis aduersus Auxentium lib. 5.
ep. Aduersus arma, milites, Gotthos quoq; lacrimæ meæ
arma sunt. Talia¹ nō mumenta sunt sacerdotis. Aliter nec
debeo nec possum resistere. Fugere autem et relinquere
ecclesiam non soleo. Si fecerit ille quod solet Reginæ esse
potestatis, ego subire paratus quod sacerdotis esse confuevit.

11. ‘*Ther needith noon.*’—Cleerely there needes none,
none of force and neceſſitie, yet if any will confess, he
may. But I belieue that all the leude poemes that haue
bin written, all the pictures as they call them of Aretteine,
are not according to Celsus his prescrispion so powerful an
incittement of Venerie as the questions and scruples of
confession. see pupilla oculi, Tostatus in divers places, the
rabble of ould and new penitenciaries ²*and to dismisse this

¹ Scil. enim, as elsewhere.

² In the margin here is written:—* Erasmus according to the time hath of purpos written à moderate treatise of confession, yet he cannot denie this abuse. his wordes are. Sacerdotes homines sunt, sēpe juvenes, nonnunquam et mali, aut certe imbecilles. Horum animus corruptitur audiendis aliorum prodigiosis admisis, ac sēpe propelluntur ad eadem patranda quæ ab alijs patrata didicerunt—Audivi Theologum quendam non abhorrentem à mulierculis impudicis, narrantem se audisse quendam sacræ virginibus præfectum, qui confiteretur se fuprasse ducentas virgines. Ex hoc adeo fibi blan- diebatur is qui hoc referebat, vt nunquam cogitatus videretur de meditandâ castitate. So Erasmus. (This note is in Rich. James's handwriting.)

P. 22. note, with my reverend Vnkle doctor Thomas James in his introduction to divinitie, Confession better considerd, is à weapon to amaze and amate the conscience, to picke the purse, to make the confessour à knaue, wiues whores, and husbands cuckolds, à stratageme of state, to worke treason and rebellion, to tie the laitie to the clergie, the clergie to the pope, and so to make him what he pretends, *Rex Regum et Dominus dominantium.*

12. ‘*Augustin. de visitat.*’—Of this supposititious Austin tis the censure of learned Erasmus. sermo locutuleij nec docti nec diserti. Quid habuerunt vel frontis vel mentis qui talia scripta nobis obtruferunt nomine Augustini?

P. 23. Although in the auncient Fathers there be || allso many sayings and sentences which must be corrected by the rule of scripture, yet I conceive it would be à well deserving industrie for somme able man to gather à bodie of divinitie from their authentique workes, and again to paralell the same with collections out of such treatises as are faind vnder their names by illiterate impostors. So we showld see what the Fathers withoute authoritie of scripture haue warranted from Juish and Gentile tradition, and how vppon this succeeding papistrie hath crept in and made an infinite addition of Imposture.

16. ‘*Vnto Seint petir.*’—Tis true God is y^e God of ordre, and for the peaceable goverment of people and states, feveral fortis of men must be trusted with feveral authorties yet not so that they remaine *αὐτοῖς θύμοι*, that epithite belongs to God onely. The priests must haue the direction of vs in religion, and easilly for private faction

or ambition or other humour we must not refuse their ^{P. 23.} obedience. But if eminently withoute and beyond all commision of reason and scripture they shalbe presumptuous to stretch authoritie rather to the destruction then edifijng of the Church, we maye and must saye in despight of the popes canons and contrivements, domine papa cur ita facis? and if he or other priest or prelat in the tyrannie of his office will goe farther yeither to sentece of death or excommunication, wee see that in all ages manie are contented to ruine the residue rather then wrong their owne cleere conscience, and from the hard necessitie of this life apeale to heaven. So did in one case againstst the pope our well reputed Bishop of Lincolne Robert Grosseteſte, of whome in storie tis thus reported. Obiit etiam sanctus Robertus Lincolniensis episcopus dictus grossum caput. 8. Idus Octobris. Hic itaque in cunctis liberalibus artibus excellenter instructus, in logicâ præcipue et astrologiâ florens plurima commentatus est. Ad Innocentium quoq; papam misit epistolam invectivam satis et tonantem pro eo quod ecclesiæ Angliæ indebitis exactionibus vexare videretur. Hâc de caufâ Robertus ad curiam vocatus est, et cum moleſtaretur appellavit conſtanter à curia Innocentii ad tribunal Christi. Vnde contigit quòd Roberto in Anglia obeunte, audita est vox in curia papæ. Veni miser ad judicium. Repertus est in craftino papa exanimis, quaſi cufpide baculi in latere percussus.¹*

18. ‘*Lete holy Chirche.*’—In Gods name lett it ſtill

¹ In the margin here is written, in James's handwriting:—* But y^e

P. 23. be the dutye of priests and prelates to direct the people, but lett them knowe that they direct men and nott beastes, men that haue reasounable soules and vnderstandings, and whoe haue on them à greater necessitie of obeijng God then men. Tis true, for à longe time Fathers and chil-dren; and their childrens children continued in the blinde obedience of papistrie, where the blinde did leade the blinde. But when Gods pleasure was to enlighten the world with translations of scripture, with somme few excellent restorers of arte and languadge, the people quickly saw the gospel and embrased it, and were it not for extreme tyrannie of Antechrift, I cannot feare, but that all nations and people of the Christian world would quickly vnite themselves vnto the protestant doctrine and reformation of which Sr Ihon Oldcastell and many other millions of men, woemen, children, haue long since given testimonie with losse of their lives, their fortunes, and any thing els which in respect of this world might be deere vnto them.

P. 24. || 25. ‘*Lancelot de Lake.*’—For the space of five hundred yeeres as La-Noue observes in his politique discourses, with such like books people entertaind their leasure; The daunger and mischief of them he hath also there well remembred, to which I maye adde, that certainly they were of sett pollicie invented by the jngeniers of

Peter of Rome is of long time y^e pope onely, of whome y^e MS. legend in Sr Rob. Cottons librarie fayes thus.

For holi cherche ne scholde nouit in no stede stonde to dome
Ne ansuere king ne prins bote y^e pope of Rome.

papistrie to keepe people from à desire of reading and perusing holie scripture, and other books of Greeke and Latin instruction, where they haue since learned that the whole frame of the later ignoble Roman superstition is meere imposture, and so their Lancelots and Añadises and knights of the funne and other no lesse fabulous legends haue had their time, and are now allmost everie where going into oblivion.^{1*} P. 24.

28. ‘*O Constantyn.*’—If Constantine did exalte his prelates aboue measure, later stories say frequently of him, that he sent poison into the church. He indeede calld à counsell where ²the Arrianisme was condemnd, yet had Arrian bishops so great favour with him in the Courte, as that partie was still vpheld. amongst those was Eusebius Cesariensis whoe in à book of his against Marcellus disdaignes much that himself shoulde be so handled whome Constantyn held worthy to be Bishop of the whole Oecumenicall world. Marcellus writh against Asterius, Eusebius against Marcellus, and in à manuscript of that writing in y^e Vniuersitie librarie somme Greeke reader could not forbear

¹ In the margin here is written, in James's handwriting :—* But as Occleve heere so also another champion of y^e time reviles our religious knight for reading scripture, aftir this manner.

Hit is vnkindely for à Knight y^t shulde a kings castel kepe
To bable of y^e bible day and night in resting tyme when he should
slepe

And carefully away to creepe for all y^e chief of chivalrie
Wel auight hym to waile and wepe, y^t such lust hath in Lollardie.

² So the MS.

P. 24. to give this marginall note, κακεῖσιν πάντων τὴν δυσαδίαν ἐρεύξω. Wherefore whatsoeuer Constantine did which is the subject of a larger discourse, Petrarch wisheth him back againe to take awaye from that ill deserving church all his donatives. Church and church men must for state and honour of pietie haue wherewith liberally to sustaine themselves, but as king Alfred in his translation of Boethius hath it, in à well framd building of goverment, all the glorie and wealth and power must not be layd vpon one piller, lest that preffe vpon the other and force a ruine of all. What the popes did in the empire with their excessive dotation from Constantine or Charledemaigne or Mathilda, or their owne proling rapine in the sufferance of barbarous ignorant princes and people, Lumbards, Gothes, and Vandals, is everie where sett downe in historie. But what effect his prelates greatnesse had in England I will leave the reader to consider from one relation of Mathiew Paris in à historie of the Abbots lives of Sainct Albanes written with Walsingham's owne hand. The relation is thus. Eo tempore cùm Willielmus conqueror Angliæ, aliás dictus Nothus, dux Normanniae vnioco belli congressu Anglos ita vicisset, vt in conspectu suo tota terra fileret quasi mirans fatum, in quodam conventu vbi cuncti prælati cum nobilioribus regni convenerant, omnes ita convenit. Miror ait, quòd huius regni militia sive communitas quæ nullius iugum ferre confueverunt sine frequenti recalcitratione me suscepserint et admiserint atq; toleraverint libenter vt dominum, et velut infortunio vnius horæ fracti, vt imbelles meo se dominio pacifice submiserunt. Quoties regni præsentis

militia Danis Pictis et Scotis rebellaverit, et semper libertatem P. 24. cum victoriâ reportaverit libri vestri manifestè declarant. Ad hoc cùm starent stupefacti milites et Anglorum Nobiles, et tanquam perculsi verecundiâ non haberent responsum congruum tantæ Regis insolentie, Abbas monasterii sancti Albani cupiens sibi nomen adquirere, et ab Anglis tergere nævum igna|viae, simul et gratias reportare, pro omnibus P. 25 (27). ` ita respondit. Rex inquit Illuſtrissime. Quòd Anglos de facili ita vicisti, et regnum pacificè posſedisti, religiosis regni tui debes gratiam et favorem. Nempe prædeceſſores tui glorioſi Reges Angliæ magnam partem Inſulæ religiosorum domibus, partim acti devotione, partim coacti miraculis contulerunt; quæ ſi permaneffiſſet in manibus dominorum temporalium, forſitan quilibet ex parte ſua contra te refiſtentiam paravifſet. Sed quia religioſi noluerunt ſicut nec debuerunt adverſum te rebellionem facere, cui certis de cauſis putabant regni jura competere, vicisti faciliū, intraſti liberius, et ad præſens uſq; regnum quietius posſedisti. Rex his auditis, ex Abatis ore verbū rapiens ita respondit. Si inquit poſſeffiones vobis datæ et ereptæ militibus ſunt in cauſā quare Angli requiverunt mihi refiſtēre, patet quòd in futurum Rex Daciæ vel quilibet alijs mihi bellum inferre poterit, et non erit qui me defendat vel regnum meum, Et ideo de ore tuo te judico, et a te inprimis incipio, repetens poſſeffiones quibus nimis habundas, quibus exhiberi poſſint milites ad defenſionem regni præſentis. Et hâc occaſione dicitur abſtuliffe de domo sancti Albani totum penè dominium quod habuit à Barneto uſq; Londonias ad locum vulgariter vocatum Londonestone. This

P. 25 (27). mightie dotation of the church was ever à grievance of the English, so that in parliamente they did make many remonstrances of it, and thence it is that in verie manie books printed and written I often finde this like calculation. sunt en Engleterre. XLV. M. eglises parochiales. et viles. LIJ. M. Fees des chevalers. LX. M. CC. XV. de queux sunt en religioun. XXVIII. M. etc. Theis and other things putt together, it would not be any hard matter to prooue, that all the chainges and miserable casualties of this land hath comme both to prince and people from their dowrie; nay thence it is that in ould writings of the monks we reade England often termd, dos Mariæ and B^r. Petri patrimonium speciale. and in Wicklefe whose doctrine and advise made à wise prince Edward the third provide against the mischief, the stomackfull moncks and Friers threaten, that if this or that were not mended they would be gonue and returne with bright heads: King Harrie the fift also had this buisnesse in his thoughts, had he not binne diverted in such manner as stories tell, and amongst them one of his owne time, thus. Allso then this Noble prince let do calle all the Abbottis and priours of feint Benettis ordre in England, and had theym in the chapter house of Westmynster for the reformacioun of the ordre, wherein he had communication also with Bysshoppis and men of the spiritualte, in foo ferre forth, that they doubted sore he would haue had the temporalties out of their handes. Wherefore by th' avys and labour and procuring of the spiritualtie was encoraged the kyng to chalendge Normandye and his right in Fraunce to th' entente to gette him

awarke there that he shuld natt seeke occaiions to entre P. 25 (27). into such maters. And all hys lyve aftir he labou||red in P. 26 (28). the werris in conquering greate parte of the royesme of Fraunce. And for this the Monks and prelates infigation of princes to warre, bothe Gower and this Hoccleve have otherwhere made sharpe invectives against them. The one fayes that they sent the Barouns and lustie bacheliers into Prus, Rodes, Tartarie, to travaille for worship and their Ladies love, and to slaye the Sarasins, whilst them-selvs heere wallowed in all vncleane securitie. parte of the verses are theis.

What schuld I wynne over the see
 If I my Ladie left at home,
 But passe they the salt fome
 To whom Crist bad they schulden preche
 To all the world and his feith teche.
 But now they rukken in her nest
 And resten as hem liketh best
 In all the swetenesse of delices
 Thus they defenden vs the vices
 And sitte hemselfven all amyddle,
 To slen and frighte they vs bidde
 Hem, whome they schuld as the book seith
 Converten vnto Christes feith.

And thus much may serve in consideration of Constantine or Justinians over pampering or ¹mignionning the Church. A moderation in all things is best.

37. ‘*Prince of Preestes.*’—I will not heere be sparing to advertise the reader concerning this principalitie, wherefore first I transcribe vnto him parte of Thomas

¹ Perhaps *mignionning*.

P. 26 (28). Waldens preface in his second tome to Harrie y^e fift where he flatters his crueltie aftir this manner. Regalibus jussis vestris obtemperans; Inclite domine Angliae Rex Henrice, Christi gratiâ triumphator invicte, doctrinalis antiquitatum ecclesiæ Jesu Christi contra Witclevistas nofrates hæreticos volumen ingredior jam secundum: opus mihi arduum et ingens, sed vtinam tuæ Christianissimæ charitati, quantum optatum, tām competens, tam acceptabile, quām erit acceptum. Non latet hunc terrarum orbem quo stomacho istorum novellorum hæreticorum detestarisi infamias. Prodit hoc te tacente ignis jugis supplicij: qui te, vel magis in te Xpo jubente in synagoga eorum frequenter exarsit; flamma combussum peccatores. Prodit hoc affixtrix tua sapientia, quam regni pontificibus obtulisti, vt cum eis laboraret semper, arderet semper scire, quid eis acceptum esset corām deo omni tempore. At quis fide sedulus non gauderet eximiè, cūm tantus princeps non diu post primæ vñctionis, et fastus Regii sacramentum gauderet se in causâ Christi et ecclesiæ primum erexisse vexillum, et super hoc devotissimè deo caneret, Benedictus dominus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prælium, et digitos meos ad bellum? Nec in hoc gaudens, quod erratici spiritus, quibus inflantur hæretici subijcerentur ei: sed quia speravit tali auspicante principio nomen suum in cælis esse conscriptum: speravit se ex hoc hæredem plusquam Ducis Guillelmi, ducis Moysi, qui libans deo primitias probitatis, vt Israelem erueret jugulavit Ægyptum, successorem etiam fidelem instituens Gedeonis, nocte destruxit aram Baal, lucumq^b succidit, et domorum latibula, in quibus Lollardi sua conventicula celebrabant,

docentes doctrinas Balam, et offerentes contrà || Christum p. 27 (29). hæretica sacramenta. Imitabatur ex animo Ezekiam in regno, qui plus alijs Regibus in exordijs regni docuit populum audacter frangere simulachra opinionum et hæresum, quas furor Witclevisticæ pravitatis in regno consculpsit: succidere lucos, altaria demoliri, quibus decepti vulgares, aut doctores eorum decumbebant in clero: et ne libèrè docerent in ecclesijs, excelsas eis cathedras publicâ sanctione ecclesiæ fecerat interdici. Hæc prima bella tibi præstituis, his galeis caput dedicas recenter coronatum. His ducibus, his Regibus tibi plūs placet fide quam Edwardis et ¹ Henrici illustribus alioquin Regibus carne succedere. At verò hoc ipso invitas me pauperculum servum tuum, vt post Eliam patrem meum simili animofitate decurrām, quatenus invocatione Jesu Christi in hoc torrente scripturæ paternæ octingentos pseudoprophetas gladio perimam verbi dei, vel certè magis, vt tu ipse perimas hostes Christi, qui omniquaque cupis eos esse devictos. See heere what it is in Poperie to be à Prince of Priests. Tis to murder, to massacre, to burne vp his owne innocent people for their fakes whoe hate to be reformd. Thoſe whoe by their owne counſells, by their owne lawes no not in case of treason, ſhould follicite the blood and death of men, but rather pardon and mercie for all offenders, theis incarnate divells of men, forgetting both their owne law and the milder precepts of Christes goſple, crie out nothing but blood and fire and death and torment vppon their brethren, whoe ſay all the

¹ So the MS., for *Henricis*?

P. 27 (29). articles of their creede, doe the ten commaundements vnto the best of their power, and whoe never out of will¹ and doctrine though sommetimes from extremitie, haue dared lift vp their hands against full hard princes, when their bloodswilling aduersaries haue antiquated Christes lawe for their owne inventions, by canon and rubrick dispose of crownes and kingdomes according to their owne humour, and yet give vnto Princes for all their lowe abjectnesse the onely title of Hangmen, as we may see in Sarisberiensis his policraticon. lib. 4. cap. 3. Hunc ergo gladium saith he de manu ecclesiæ accipit princeps, cum ipsa tamen gladium sanguinis omnino non habeat. Habet tamen et istum, sed eo utitur per principis manum, cui coercendorum corporum contulit potestatem, spiritualium sibi in pontificibus autoritate reservatâ. Est ergo princeps sacerdotij quidem minister, et qui sacrorum officiorum illam partem exercet quæ sacerdotij manibus videtur indigna. Sacrarum namq; legum omne officium religiosum et pium est, illud tamen inferius, quod in poenis criminum exercetur, et quandam carnificii repræsentare videtur imaginem.² ¶ O princes be wise, be not butchers of men, be not onely princes of priests, but gentle tutelar Angels of all your subjects. Charledemaigne was à prince of priests, and although he had witt to reigne them

¹ "Though" in the MS.: *and* seems to be written on the top of "though".

² In the margin here is written:— ¶ Henrie y^e fift was putt vpon y^e warres of France mainly vpon y^e instigation of y^e papall clergie, because he shoulde not staye at home to correct their infinite abominations; to humour them, he drawes à bloodie fward allso vpon his owne innocent people, and when he hath donne all, as we maye reade

for his owne time, vpon his posterite they haue triumphd P. 27 (29). through the superexaltation which he gaue them. Wherefore in my vnderstanding Cardan gives princes good counsele in his . 3 . book of wifdome, where he fayes. Cavendum tamen est, ne vel superfluus sit sumptus, vel sacerdotibus summa authoritas tribuatur: Cùm n. plures optimi sint, periculosum tamen est, salutem publicam illis committere ob religionis apud populum auctoritatem, idq; eventu satis manifestum est. *Æthiopibus ambitione* P. 28 (30). sacerdotum mos invaluerat, vt cùm illi pronunciasserent, expedire populo Regem è vitâ excedere ob gentis salutem, cogerentur Reges vitam finire, quod ni sponte fecissent, tanquam à deo nunciatum quod sacerdotes mentiebantur, populus turpiter eos occidebat: mosq; hic perseveravit usq; ad Erganem Regem, qui illorum cognito dolo, omnes sacerdotes delevit, vt ab hoc commento tutus esset. Nonne Danielis historia refert Babiloniæ Regem à sacerdotibus turpiter esse delusum? quos omnes ille ob hoc interfecerit. Igitur præscribenda illis licentia. So Cardan, and I believe there be few men whoe vnderstand Latin that cannot out of their owne reading prefently paralell the Papisticall priesthoods insolencie with any higthe yeither of *Æthiopian* *Ægyptian* or *Babylonian* imposture.

in Cardan de varietate rerū for an amends they give out y^t Saint Fiacre had made all his bowells rott in him, for spoiling one of his churches. But verilye I believe if y^e matter be well vnderstood, their poison hath made awaye not onely him but y^e greatest number of our English princes, of which more lardgely in another place.

[The above is in James's handwriting.]

P. 28 (30).

39. ‘*Two lightes.*’—This is à fonde argument taken out of the Papall canon law. Tis true there are two offices in goverment, one temporall and another spirituall. But are not princes and Magistrates temporall as well to consider what belongs to their spiritualite as the priësts whoe must haue all in what ever they doe heere, bothe scripture and reason for their guide. I am sure the divine Plato seing in his time the infinite impostures of priësts makes the earnest consideration of such things necessarie for everie civill man. And I will like the Spaniard Puente in his great book of the two monarchies, whoe although he allowes the similitude of the sunne and moone, yet takes care that the moone of Spaine should have greater domination then the sunne of Roome; and Campanella in his directions for the Spanish monarchie is so fearfull of y^e Roman suns hinderance as if it were possible he would haue had them forge à new religion. O the presumption of phantaſticall Atheifticall statists. Let theirfore scripture and plaine reason keepe vs in à moderation ever of true pietie.¹*

¹ In the margin here is written in James’s handwriting :—* The counterfett sonne of y^e spiritualtie hath in all ages so distempred the state of goverment as in Ireland manie princes anciently did also take vpon themselves episcopall consecration, and it was sommetimes in the designe of Maximilian to vnite the papacie vnto y^e empire ||. [see pages 176/7, note ²] naye we may as in à glasse ³ see the excellent sober condicion of y^e Waldenses in y^e reformation of Geneva which hath followed them neerely. and of yt so Mounsieur Bodin in

* In the MS. *fee* is inserted later.

47. ‘*Whos wyf?*’¹ Vppon the primitive Christians p. 28 (30). as we reade in Tertullian manie fals reproches were cast, so fard it with the Waldenses and the Wicklevis, but the truth was so farre otherwise, as no forte of people since y^e creation ever liud more correct of manners, in so much that when one hath made à catholouge of the former Waldensians heresies and prodigious opinions, he concludes that he never saw any one that maintaintd any such thing, or that in any inquisition was so convicted.² But for the papal behaviour in this pointe, we reade in Marquardus Susanius the 9th page of his book de cælibatu sacerdotum non abrogando ad pium 4. that although priests marriadge be à diminution of pietie, and à reproche to the Church,

his method of hystorie. sed illud apud Genevates laudabile, si quid vspiam gentium, quodq; rempublicam effectit, si non opibus et imperij magnitudine, certè virtutibus ac pietate florentem: illa ³ f⁴ pontificum censura, quâ nihil majus ac divinius cogitari potuit ad coercendas hominum cupiditates et ea vitia quæ legibus humanis ac judicijs emendari nullo modo possunt. Hæc autem coercio ad Xpi normam dirigitur, latenter primùm et amicè, deinde paulo acerbius; tūm nisi pareas, sequitur interdictio facrorum gravis et efficax; interdictionem animadversio magistratum. Ridiculum est .n. ait Seneca, ad legem bonum esse. Ita fit ut que legibus nusquam vindicantur illic sine vi ac tumultu coerceantur ab ijs censoribus, qui summam virtutis opinionem de se ipsi excitarunt. Igitur nulla meretricia, nullæ ebrietates, nullæ saltationes, nulli mendici, nulli oiosi in eâ civitate reperiuntur.

¹ As seems to have been first written, and *vppon*: then as above.

² For the note belonging to this passage see the latter part of the longer note on pages 176/7.

* Doubtful whether *scl* or *sct* (=scilicet).

- P. 28 (30). yet may the pope in the plenitude of his power suffer it, as he hath permitted that à brother might marrie his sister, à neview his Aunte or à brother his brothers widowe,
¹(and if y^e new report be true, A father y^e Duke of Mantua his owne sonnes daughter.) and if Sannazarius speake truth Lucretia may be to pope Alexander y^e sixt, filia sponsa nurus. If somme Wickleivist peradventure might be in love with other mens wives, the papal priests in reprehending them forgett the beame in their owne eye. For cleerely ever since priests mariadge hath in the church binne yeither defam'd or forbidden, they still haue had παρεστάντος focarias concubilnas, and thence haue had the Bisshops for sufferance no small reveniew: of this in another place. onely I will remember what sommetimes hath binne song by I knowe not whome as I finde it registerd in an ould Manuscript, where wee reade thus.
- P. 29 (31).

I haue lived now fortie yeres
 And fatter men abowte the neres
 Yet saw I never then are theis Freres.
 Meteles so megre are they made
 That eche one is an horse lade.
 Were I a man that house helde
 If any woman with me dwelde
 There is no Frere but he were geld
 Shold come withinne my wones
 For may he till à woman winne
 In private, he will not blinne

¹ In the MS. the seventeen words which are enclosed in round brackets are carefully erased.

Or he à childe putt her withinne
 And perchaunce two at once.
 Though he loure vnder his hode
 With semblaunce quainte and milde
 If thou him trust or doe him good
 By God thou art bygylde.¹ ||

P. 29 (31).

49. ‘*In forcible maneere.*’—For this matter if any guilt were in y^e Wicklevis, the papists neede not blame any bodie much for insurrections which are so frequent amongst themselvs. But I conceive that whofoever shall reade our Worthy Foxe his monuments shall finde the matter full otherwise, and that in zele of religion as did the primitive Christians the Wicklevis as Waldensis notes of them had their secrett meetings bothe by daye and nighte.

50. ‘*Ageyn pilgrimages.*’—Of pilgrimages even to the holie land we maye reade no great commendations in Sainct Jerom and Gregorie Nyssen: of others see Erasmus his dialouges. and certeinly being well examind they will proove not much better then those of the heathens of which Juvenal.

Ibit ad Ægypti finem calidaq; petitas
 A Meroe portabit aquas.

¹ In the margin here is written later, probably in James's handwriting :—||. So alſo Palingenius in y^e V. book of his Zodiack. Sed tua p̄cipuè non intret limina quifquam Frater, vel monachus, vel quāvis lege facerdos : Hoſ fuge; pestis enim nulla hâc immanior : hi ſunt fax hominum, fons ſtultitiae, ſentina malorū, Agnorum ſub pelle lupi, mercede colementes Non pietate Deum, falſa ſub imagine reū

P. 29 (31). see also Chaucer's Canterbury tales thetherward and Lydgates in the returne. ¹see also y^e answere of S^r Jhon Oldcastell himself in Bales brief cronicle of his martyrdome.

50. '*Ageyn the making of images.*'—To tell you of images worshipping left out by the papists aunciently in the ten commaundements left it showld reprehende their folly is no newes. But I will heere admonish the reader to consider well, whether all the arguments made by Lactantius and other primitive Christian writers doe not as fully and effectually preesse and overthrowe the superstition of the papists, as of the ould Gentiles.

63. '*Ageyn possessions.*'—For matter of possessions in reasonable sorte the Wicklevistes would not haue binne much offended, if the abuse of them, and in them had not binne so infinite, of which all stories and times make complainte ynough. Wherefore, as y^e Templers were dissolvyd in Edward the seconds time by pope Clement, and the Erles and Nobles of England shard their lands againe, which had binne given by their progenitors indiscretion. So would y^e Wicklevistes haue the same donne vpon the monasteries, and at last righte or wrong they felt the knocke of Harrie the eigth prophecied against them by Piers Plowman, one that seemes to haue be-

Decipiunt stolidos, ac religionis in umbrā, Mille actus vetitos, et mille
piacula condunt. Raptore, moechi, puerorum corruptores, luxuriae
atq; gulæ famuli :

¹ 'See also . . . martyrdome.' These words are later additions, in James's handwriting.

held the ruine of the Templers. And in this part I will say noe more than what Mathiew Paris hath related of Harrie y^e third. Rex henricus tertius, faith he, magistro hospitalis Hierosolymitaniin domo de Clerekenwelle querulo de aliquâ injuria, et ostendenti chartas Regum et suam de protectione respondit iratus voce elevatâ prævio magno juramento. Vos prælati et relligiosi maximè tamen Templarij et Hosptalarij tot habetis libertates et chartas quòd superfluæ possessiones vos faciunt superbire et superbientes insanire. Revocanda sunt igitur prudenter quæ imprudenter sunt concessa. Believe me in any thing that ever I read of this prince, he never spake more sufficently, but his actions were so divers, that à Pope by his Bull commaunds him to holde his hands from liberalitie to holie vñes, because he did thence partly so exhauste himself as he was not able to paye the yeerely tribute vnto which the Pope had made England obnoxious by the injurie of his father king Jhon. What doe theis abject Monks talke of the ruining their demaines, when of the glorious temple at Jerusalen there is not left à stone uppon à stone for the transgressions of y^e Jewes, when age and disordre must conclude the heavens. And they even from Sainct Jeromes time are everie where in best writers the calamitie of the Christian world. But they might faye somme haue binne reformd. No not possibly, for their whole frame of life after they became cenobiticall was yeither vnusefull, or wicked of neccesfitie in the moste, whoe never did, never will, or ever may keepe chaftitie, povertie, and obedience against the more vrgent rules of nature and civilitie. They

indeede pretended to followe Christe neerely, but the whole rabblement of clergie that pursued with fire and sword the Noble valiant Oldcastell and manye other well deserving Wicklevists followed Christe so farre of, as that our former poete Gower could finde no similitude betwixt the Maister and discipiles, when he enters thus into comparisoun :—

Inter prælatos dum Xpi quæro sequaces
 Regula nulla manet quæ prius esse solet.
 Xps erat pauper, illi cumulantur in auro,
 Hic pacem dederat hij modo bella movent.
 Christus erat largus, hij sunt velut arca tenaces
 Hunc labor invasit, hos fovet austæ quies.
 Christus erat mitis, hij sunt tamen impetuosi,
 Hic humilis subijt, hi supereffe volunt.
 Christus erat misérans, hi viudiſtamq; sequuntur,
 Sustulit hic poenas hos timor inde fugat.
 Christus erat virgo, sunt illi raro pudici
 Hic bonus est pastor, hi sed ovile vorant.
 Christus erat verax, hi blandaq; verba requirunt,
 Christus erat justus, hi nisi velle vident.
 Christus erat constans, hi vento mobiliores
 Obstutit ipse malis, hi magis illa finunt.
 Hi pleno stomacho laudant jejunia Christi.
 Christus aquam petijt, hi bona vina bibunt.
 Et quotquot poterit mens escas præmeditari
 Lautas pro stomacho dant renovare suo.
 Escas placens ventri sic est et venter ad escas
 Ut Venus à latere stet bene juncta gulæ.
 Respuit in monte sibi Christus singula regna
 His nisi mundana gloria sola placet.
 Creverunt et opes et opum furiosa cupido,
 Et cùm possideant plurima plura petunt

Sufficit his solâ fid e pietatis in umbr a,
 Dicant pomposi quod pius ordo Dei.
 Pro fidei meritis praelati tot patiuntur
 Unde viros sanctos nos reputamus eos.

Theise last veres of Gower expresse à manner of the clergie in all delicatecie of life vsinge to lament themselfes of sufferance for Christe. Of this manner Giraldus Cambrenis also doth sommewhere make sportefull mention, and so vppon à fat priour Clement Marrot hath given vs this epigramme.

Un gros prieur son petit filz bairoit
 Et mignardoit au matin en sa couche :
 Tandis rotir sa perdrix on faisoit
 Se leve, crache, esmeutit, et se mouche ;
 La perdrix vire : au fel de broque en bouche
 La devora, bien scavoit la science
 Puis quand il eut prins sur sa conscience
 Broc de vin blanc, du meilleur qu' on elise
 Mon dieu, dit il, donne moy patience
 Qu' on ha de maux pour servir sainte Eglise.

Such ever were and of necessit e were the manners and condicions of monasteries : magnum nomen ei gratia nulla rei, is aunciently spoken of Clarevalle and is true of all. So that I never can haue pittie of their ruine in Harrie the 8th his time. With what minde so ever they sett vppon that buisnesse, quô turpior manus eo melior vindicta is well spoken as well of the monasteries as the conspiracie of the Pope and Cardinalls. Theis monasteries were an ould offence as well of the Bisshops & parochiall Clergie, as the Gentrie and Laietie of our land, and if Harrie the eighth as he robd the thief had restored to the true men the goods

and lands which they had stolen, I meane as well the impropriations to the clergie as the lands vnto the Nobles and Gentry, his worcke had binne heroique and just and religious. And heere I must not forgett to doe Wicklife right against ye calumnie of mistaking ignorance. Somme say that as he was an enemie of monasteries, so alſo of our Colledges in the Vniverſitie, whereas the matter is wholly otherwife ; The Colledges against which he often declames, were the seminaries heere of Moncks and Friars, of whome he writes plainly in his printed prologue of y^e Bible, otherwife for our plaine univerſitie ſocieties ſo great love was betwixt Wickleve and them, as when order came from y^e Pope for ſuppreſſing him and his doctrine, they had it in conſultation, whether they ſhould not diſhonour the instrument by which that buiſneſſe was commaunded, and Wicklif in his countrey homilies touching vpon ſomme harder pointes ſayes that theiſ things ought to be diſputed in the learned Schoole of Oxenford. No lett not our Colledges feare that the ruine of monasteries any thing concerneſ them, but lett vs take care that we everie way flie their exemplar of lazie ignorance, luxurie and diſcord. And heere I ſhall end theiſ notes with the memorie of S^r. Jhon Oldcaſtells death thus reported by à malignant hystorian neere y^e time. An. v^o. Henr. V., was S^r Jhon Oldcaſtell ycallde y^e Lord Cobham take[n] in y^e marche of Wallys and broughte to y^e citie of London, y^e which was chieff Lord and meyntenour of alle y^e Lollardes in this realme, and evere aboute to diſtroye to his power holy chirche. And therfore he was firſt ydrawne and after-

ward yhonged and brent hanginge on y^e newe galowes
byfyde Seint Gyles with an yren cheyne aboute his necke
bycause that he was à Lord of name, and so there he
made an ende of his cursedde lyfe. And lett y^e reader
knowe y^t besides y^e memories of this valiant Gentleman in
Foxe, Tyndall alſo and Bale haue in severall^t books ſett
forth y^e whole proceſſe of his martyrdomme.

*

Memories of s^r Jhon Oldcastell
which I receivd from y^e
courteſie of M^r Tho:
Philpott herald.

P. 32 (34).

*

Peter oldcastell of y^e ould castle within y^e Countye of
Herreford esquier. ab eo John. ab eo Jhon, ab eo Richard
knyght, ab eo Johannes noſter. he had 3 wyues, and iſſue
by two of them. ¹v^{ct}. by his firſt two ſonnes and two
daughters, by the ſecond, none: by his third à daughter
only.

From one Harpole à faithfull ſervant and ſteward to this
S^r. Ihon Oldcastell is descended one S^r. William Harpole
that lives in Ireland.

Vppon à graueſtone in y^e middle of y^e great chancell in
Aſhchurch neere Sandwich in Kent is y^e figure of Roger
Clyderow and his wife daughter of s^r Jhon
Oldcastell inſculped in braſſe and this inſcripſion. Hic
jacet Rogerus clyderowe armiger et vxor ejus

¹ i.e. *videlicet*.

IV.

OF SHAKESPEARE.

1632.

NOTE.

Of this—in parts—great Poem, see our Introduction. It is given *verbatim* from the famous folio of 1632. Therein it comes after Ben Jonson's.—C.



*On Worthy Master Shake-
speare and his Poems.*

A Mind reflecting ages past, whose cleere
And equall surface can make things appeare
Distant a Thousand yeares, and represent
Them in their lively colours just extent.
To out run hasty time, retrive the fates,
Rowle backe the heavens, blow ope the iron gates
Of death and Lethe, where (confused) lye
Great heapes of ruinous mortalitie.
In that deepe duskie dungeon to discerne
A royall Ghost from Churles; By art to learne
The Physiognomie of shades, and give
Them suddaine birth, wondring how oft they live.
What story coldly tells, what Poets faine.
At second hand, and picture without braine
Senfelleffe and soulelefse shewes. To give a Stage
(Ample and true with life). voyce, action, age,

*As Plato's yeare and new Scene of the world
Them unto us, or us to them had hurld.
To raise our auncient Soveraignes from their herse
Make Kings his subiects, by exchanging verse
Enlive their pale trunkes, that the present age
Joyes in their joy, and trembles at their rage :
Yet so to temper passion, that our eares
Take pleasure in their paine ; And eyes in teares
Both weepe and smile ; fearefull at plots so sad,
Then laughing at our feare ; abus'd, and glad
To be abus'd, affected with that truth
Which we perceive is false ; pleaf'd in that ruth
At which we start ; and by elaborate play
Tortur'd and tickled ; by a crablike way
Time past made pastime, and in ugly sort
Disgorging up his ravaine for our sport —
— While the Plebeian Impe from lofty throne,
Creates and rules a world, and workes upon
Mankind by secret engines ; Now to move
A chilling pitty, then a rigorous love :
To strike up and stroake downe, both joy and ire ;
To steele th' affections ; and by heavenly fire
Mould us anew. Stolne from our selves —
This and much more which cannot bee exprest,
But by himselfe, his tongue and his owne brest,
Was Shakespeares freehold, which his cunning brainte
Improv'd by favour of the nine fold traine.
The buskind Muse, the Commick Queene, the graund
And lowder tone of Clio ; nimble hand,*

*And nimbler foote of the melodious paire,
The Silver voyced Lady ; the most faire
Calliope, whose speaking silence daunts.
And she whose prayse the heavenly body chants.*

*These joynly woo'd him, envying one another
(Obey'd by all as Spouse, but lov'd as brother)
And wrought a curious robe of sable grave
Fresh greene, and pleasant yellow, red mast brave,
And constant blew, rich purple, guiltlesse white
The lowly Russet, and the Scarlet bright ;
Branch't and embroydred like the painted Spring
Each leafe match't with a flower, and each string
Of golden wire, each line of silke ; there run
Italian workes whose thred the Sisters spun ;
And there did sing, or seeme to sing, the choyce
Birdes of a forraine note and various voyce.
Here hangs a mossey rocke ; there playes a faire
But chiding fountaine purled : Not the ayre
Nor cloudes nor thunder, but were living drawne
Not out of common Tiffany or Lawne.
But fine materialls, which the Muses know
And onely know the countries where they grow.*

*Now when they could no longer him enjoy
In mortall garments pent ; death may destroy
They say his body, but his verse shall live
And more then nature takes, our hands shall give.
In a lesse volume, but more strongly bound
Shakespeare shall breath and speake, with Laurell crown'd*

*Which never fades. Fed with Ambrofian meate
In a well-lyned vesture rich and neate.
So with this robe they cloath him, bid him weare it
For time shall never staine, nor envy teare it.*

The friendly admirer of his

Endowments.

I. M. S.

V.

OF FELTON AND BUCKINGHAM.

NOTE.

In the "Annales" of Scotland of SIR JAMES BALFOUR (Works, 4 vols. 8vo. 1825 : vol. ii. pp. 174/5) there is the following notice of the present poem on Felton:—" [Thursday 27 of November 1628] At this tyme, one Mr. James, ane attender one Sr Robert Cotton, a grate louer of his countrey, and a hatter of all suche as he supposeth enimies to the fame, was called in queſtion for wretting ſome lynes, whic he named a ſtature to the memory of that worthy patriot S. Johnne Felton." He inserts the 'lynnes ;' but his ſpelling is odd and inaccurate. I prefer the Sloane MS. as given by Fairholt. See Introduction on this nervous and noticeable poem.—G.



FELTON COMMENDED, ETC.



MMORTALL man of glorie, whose brave
hand

Hath once begun to disinchaunt our land
From magique thraldome. One proud man
did mate

The nobles, gentles, commons of our stafe ;
Struck peace and warr at pleasure, hurl'd downe all
That to his idoll greatnes would not fall,
With groveling adoration ; sacred rent
Of Brittaine, Saxon, Norman princes ; spent
Hee on his pandors, minions, pimpes, and whores,
Whilst their great royllall offspring wanted dores
To shut out hunger, had not the kinde whelpe
Of good Eliza's lyon gave them helpe ;
The feats of justice forc'd to say, they lye,
Vnto our auntient English libertie.
The staine of honour, which to deedes of praise
And high atchevements should braue spiritts raife,

The shipps, the men, the money cast away,
Under his onely all-confounding fway.
Illiads of griefe, on toppe of which hee bore
Himselfe triumphant, neither trayned in lore
Of artes nor armes ; yet in a hautie vast
Debordment of ambition, now in haste,
The cunning Houndhurst¹ must transported bee,
To make him the restorer Mercurie
In an heroick painting, when before
Antwerpian Rubens' best skill made him soare,
Ravish't by heavenly powers, vnto the skie,
Opening and ready him to deifie
In a bright blisfull pallace, fayrie ile.
Naught but illusion were wee, 'till this guile
Was by thy hand cut off, stout Machabee ;
Nor they, nor Rome, nor did Greece euer see
A greater glorie. To the neighbour flood
Then sinke all fables of old Brute and Ludd,
And give thy statues place ; in spight of charme
Of witch or wizard, thy most mightie arme,

¹ Gerard Honthorst, a famous Dutch painter, had instructed the Queen of Bohemia in painting, and was invited by her brother, King Charles I., to England, where he became celebrated for emblematic pictures. He painted the staircase at Hampton Court, and represented Charles and his Queen seated in the clouds, as Apollo and Diana ; the Duke of Buckingham, as Mercury, introducing the Arts and Sciences to their notice. D'Israeli, in his " Curiosities of Literature," mentions another allegorical picture of the Duke, which appears to rival the above in bad tafte.—F.

With zeale and justice arm'd, hath in truth wonne
The prize of patriott to a Brittish sonne.

[Sloane MS. 603 : Fairholt, pp. 69-70. Poems and Songs relating to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham ; and his Assassination by John Felton, August 23, 1628. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by F. W. Fairholt, F. S. A. 1850 (Percy Society). I must add, that I searched in vain in Sloane MS. 603 for the Poem. The number must be wrong.—G.]

VI.
POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS
FROM
JAMES MS. No. 35
IN
THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

D D

NOTE.

In the James MS. (No. 35) pages 3 and 4 have been misplaced and put at the end. They complete the opening poem, and hence ought to have followed page 2. Of these Poems, see our Introduction. The order of the MS. (save as above) is followed throughout. Mr. Corser quoted from this MS. A collation has corrected some mis-readings, &c. &c.—G.



AN APOLOGIE FOR À LOOKING GLASSE
BY APULEIUS AGAINST ONE ÆMILIAN.

* * *

SUPPOSE I haue à glasse to view my face
To see each commelye lineament and grace
Within that parte which Nature did vpreare
To view y^e face of heauen and to beare
The stampe of manhood. Certes tis no crime,
A stately image in a crystaline.
Or there within à prettie daintie elf
Expressing y^e symmetrie of my self,
Which I loue best as parents doe loue best
The childe that best resembles boue y^e rest.
And best we loue those statues which we see
Erected to owne worth and chivalrie
By thanckfull citizens. Or doe you please
To see à labourd stone effigies
And scorne y^e gift of nature which doth playe
Our selves vnto our selves in shining daye.

Much labour, weekes and monthes and yeeres are spent
To make à marble with shoare fand relent
Into our fasshion, and through all partes rize,
Shape and conforme it self to humane guize :
At length by skillfull arte, with members hue
Able to couzen a rash gazer's view.
Yet in à looking-glaſſe alone we haue
The life of motion where pictures braue
Are onely not their masters, to relate
Besides y^e bodies likenesſe, gesture, gate.
Were they fo lardgely hollowe as to give
An Eccho, ſure then would y^e picture live.
The progreſſe of our age and chainge, and all
It tells from cradle to y^e funerall.
It laughes to fee y^e bodie will by turnes
Rejoice it ſelf, and when that cries this mournes.
Brasse, virgin waxe, earth's choifeſt, marble fine
Scarce are of likenesſe, this alone divine
Of imitation. Men before their paſſe
Are made by ſpiritts in a looking-glaſſe.
The ſtatue and y^e table allwayes one
Are carcafles for picture to reflexion.
Lacedemonian Agesilaus
Of fixture and picture was ſcrupulous,
Because he was diſtriftfull of his shape,
Perchance dog-snowted or like vrchin ape.
But if beſides we will with all y^e maine
An vniverſall cuſtome ſtill retaine
Of imagerye, and ſtill be pleafeſt to fee

Well represented physiognomie.
Why showl'd you chuse good Sir AEmelian
Rather to see y^e pourtraiet of à man
In stome then christall chac'd in silvern sphere.
An Enchiridiall glasse your self to beare.
Tis not dishonest. Socrates y^e wife
Did of his schollers as they say advize
There to behould their personage, if faire,
Pittie themselves shoul'd not be debonnaire.
To staine a proper beautie, and with base
Soiling behaviour looze nature's grace.
Those whome y^e glasse did not congratulate
With delectable countenance and state
Of visadge, shoul'd by industrie vnrude
And vertue's splendour, nature's turpitude.
So did the sage philosopher deffine
A glas for manners fitting discipline.
And if thou haft heard of Demosthenes,
Before a glas he first did act his pleas,
To learne à decent gesiture. Then at bar,
At will y^e thunder of his voice made war.
And when he would to peace with mileder frame
He lul'd the senate and y^e people tame:
Great oratour, from Plato eloquent,
From Logique Eubule quick of argument.
A glas was onely Maister of his voice,
The complement of all. I praise his choice.
If Lawyers vse à looking-glass to make
Their voice with postures and with gestures take

The eares of learned people, while they chide
A case of batterie on the plaintife fide.
Or doe direct y^e auncient terriers, where
The boundes and bancks of neighbour lands apeere.
Shall not y^e just philosopher conceive
A fashton of himself forehand with leave.
Aske censure of y^e glasse before he goe
Into his pue, to lett y^e Ruffian knowe
His loofenesse, make y^e griping vsurer
Cast up to orphants and y^e widdouer
His gorge of ill gott coyne, and when he doth
The state of good and evill tender forth.
And not for this alone à glass must be
Within ye studie of philosophie.
The hidden secrets there of prospective,
Of shadowes and of shapes she must retrive.
Manie offings of our selves with image pure
Doe flowe on everie fide, saith Epicure,
And striaing quick vpon somme solid plaine,
And bright, vnto our eyes returne againe.
Plato, Architas and ye Stoicks will
Make vp this vision with à divers skill.
Of this and that and many other shewe
Philosophers must still enquire and knowe
By often speculation. Why y^e glasse
That levell is, an equall picture has
Vnto ye bodie ! why y^e ovall lesse
The concave larger is of propernesse !
How tis y^t in à glasse ye pourtraicts, walke,

Turne fides from left to right while neighbours talke ?
Walke in when they walke forwards, and do meeke
At their returning as it were to greete ?
The burning glasse beate on with scorching beame
Strikes back vpon an hoast a flaming streme.
The heavens are glasses, when they doe reflect
Two suns, à rainebowe various of aspect.
Manie such things ye learned Archimede
Of Siracusa hath discovered
In lardge and subtile treatise: noble sonne
Of Euclide, in earth's mete proportion,
Yet of no praise more noble then because
On looking-glasse he oft made curious paufe.
Whose look if thou couldſt scanne, ignoble swaine,
Quick wouldest thou leave thy furrowes and y^e plaine
To fet ye furrowes of thy face, departe,
And with like rugged furrowes plowe thy heart.
Despaire and envie staye ye y^t darſt shend,
A man did neuer thy sheepe coate offend.

A TRANSLATION OF LUCRETIUS OR RITTERHUSIUS IN
HIS NOTES UPON ISIDORE PELUSIOTA.

* * *

A world of wonder 'tis and argument
God to shewe forth all-wife and provident,
When y^e creation and whole world of men
Hath not two all alike of visadge ; when
His livelie hand with curious arte and grace

Hath runne such descant on each mortall face ;
Never y^e same, although somme paieres there be
Agreeing much in physiognomie ;
To whome a man y^t carefull is to greete,
May well misplace his morning in y^e streete.
Yet followe home, and easilly we learne
To varie our acquaintance, and discerne
Twins different of character, and none
Fully to render their complexion ;
Not if on Pegasus we fought a birth
Through all y^e nations of y^e teeming earth.
Graie eyes, black eyes haue many, manywife ;
Noses are flat or like in longer size.
Yet more or lesse in look and feature stille,
We shall except sommething not paralell.
The various looks and formes of men are even
So many as y^e sands or stars of heaven.
Nor may you deeme y^e frames of wits and minde
To be lesse sorted in à divers kinde.
Be better heere enformd by truth's defence,
Mistris of reason, sure experience.
So manye men, so manye pleasures, and
So manye vowes, wills, judgment, understand.
That which is beautifull and gives delight
To one, is ugly in another's sight.
If by men and nations we deeme vice
And vertue, surely bothe are but device.
Or if I grant it hardely that there be
Manie of like affection, in degree

And manner still they varie ; ardent one,
Another calmer, and à third soone gonue
From all his purpos ; upon which a fourth
Stayes longer to enjoye and reape y^e worth,
Manie please to be chaste, but not alike ;
Virginitie to him is angelique,
The life of heav'ly soules, where till he goe
He straines their purer exercise belowe.
Another, chaste in mariadge, and desire
To be of hopefull children aged fire ;
That vnto them he may, good man and kinde,
Leave sparks and flame of pietie behinde.
Another, not to be vnchaste, againe
Will marrie though it be his losse and paine ;
Though in a former mariage he hath
Triede stormes more hurling then grimme Neptune's wrath.
All juste men are not in one manner juste
Nor mercifull, nor wise, nor prudent juste
Alike, nor valiant ; and more or lesse,
Men that be sober doe themselves addresse
In pleasures. Somme do rownd for honours trie,
As if in them did all true bleffings lye ;
Whilst others farre from waves of civill strife
Unto à meaner state compose their life.
They others knowe, love courts and concurse, theis
Onely to knowe themselvs, and kindly please
A few discerning friends, whoe are content
With natures easie and harmeles merriment ;
Knowing full well y^t all is vaine and rude

Amongst y^e vulgar foule, and multitude
Of vncolleCted men ; where they gett naught
But sad repentance, or à troubled thought.
And as in vertue's harmonie, y^e store
Of discords are in viciousnesse farre more.
Manie their livers heated haue with luste,
But not alike so tainted and vnjuste
And vilde in their offence ; theis kindely warme
And coole againe within à maiden arme.
One, in her netts is toild, whose ramping hands
Hath riven all y^e trust of marriadge bands.
Another, in such monftrous luste doth breake,
As modeft nature blufsheth ere to speake.
This man is bould against all daingers ; he
Feeares his own shadowe, and each waving tree.
He partes à figg, rich onely to his heyre,
Poore to himself, and in all plentie bare
Of all things ; whilst another spends with might
The well gott state, inheritance, and right
Of manye auncestors ; as if he did
Hate his owne riches, and made hafte to bid
The firſt adieu to fortune. Somme haue eafe
In flatterie, with ſervile words to please.
Another, knottie man, two Catoes sterne,
Will not for any conuerſation turne
His ftubborne course. Another, feedes his eyes
On torments, bleeding wounds, and cruelties.
And ſomme ſo fainte there be, whoe ſcarce can heare
Or reade y^e tale of Troye withoutte à teare.

The fwollen fownding rage of anger doþ
Breake manye narrow breasts with spight, vncooth,
And hot, and fierce, and ragefull turbulent
By reason of y^e fierie element.
When other airie spiritts like cold deere
Tremble each gutt and joynte with quaking feare.
Somme make their idol pleasures, honours he,
Another riches, to which all things be
Of purchas, and before whose feete fall downe
Both rev'rend mitre and y^e stately crowne ;
Riches y^e price of vertue, though some strainge
Hier aspiring mindes will scorne y^e chainge.
Somme pine with envie, others weene to cheste
Eternall hatred in à mortall breft.
Somme loue to drowne y^e daye in liquid feastes,
Somme loue y^e theatre, where men like beastes
Mangle each others flesh. Somme loue to heere
The noise of instruments and voyces cleere.
Somme dote on pictures, somme on statuies ould,
Somme are too tender fronted, somme to[o] bould ;
Strong brazen faces, on which modestie
Dar'd never spread à blushing virgin die.
One for experiance like Vlisses strayes,
With much desire to learne and fee what rayes
Warne forreyne lands, and them he loues to praiſe
Aboue his native foyle, for happie dayes
And plefauntnesse of life ; as if his fare
Were on y^e daintye lotos everie where.
Another, better joyd in home doþ caſt

Where he first breathd, to yeeld up life at last ;
To breathe no other ayre, to staye and dwell
Like lazie cockell in one lurking shell.
One robs y^e high wayes, one to citties grief
Robs more with biting vsurie, worse thief.
One onely breaths and dreames of onslaughts, one
The fillie butcherd sheppe doth much bemone ;
So cruell is y^e one, so milde y^e other.
Bellona him enrages gainst his brother,
Adds fire and fward vnto his furious arme,
And with y^e thundring canon strikes alarme.
At which y^e milder prince commes in to give
His countrey's treasure and owne state to live
Free from y^e storne of war in peace, which is
To him, y^e best of things, and onely blisse
Of life ; for peace he prayes, peace to procure ;
Gould is no valued substance, nor so pure.
And all his labours doe invite to peace,
When foule contention him deprives of ease.
One, allwayes mournes to see our miserie,
Another, allwayes laughs at vanitie.
Neither can any learning polish so
Two divers natures, but they ever shewe
Their elementall qualities ; one will
Be sooner angrie, and another still
More slowe with feare ; a third, exceeding base,
Or verie meeke, will suffer all disgrace.
Necessitie is on it y^t there should
Be shapes and manners of so divers mould.

Tis providence of which I not entend
 To aske y^e secrrett, and my verses end
 For wante of names ; which none may ever finde
 So manye as are natures in their kinde.

* *

A Defence of Red Haire against
 à Poeme apologeticall for à Virginne
 whoe was proper of all things
 but a pale pock fretten face.

* *

LETT her be curded white, or as y^e moone
 In th' earth's divorce left of y^e bridegroome sunne,
 Or were she fleeke and white as yvorie postes
 And alablaster praisd in toombes of ghostes.
 Be she à white More, and let whitenesse be
 Beautie with vs as blacke in Barbarie.
 And let no foile of blush feeme to commend
 Againe her modest whoe did nere offend.
 Let's laugh y^e lover whoe in phansie seekes
 Red cherrie ripe red lips and rosie cheekees.
 All preciousnesse in feature, can belie
 More then à sparkling dimond in each eye,
 A sweete stinking wanton pigmie girle
 T' haue bends of ebonye, cleere teeth of perle,
 A fun-beame-passing smile, and if she whine,
 Faint loue fees everie teare for crystaline.
 Let goe thes, weening praise, and lively fay

What God hath made her for à creature, say
Her thighes, knees, legs and feete are such as might
Haue stood à Roman Lucreſſe in despight
Of Tarquin's rampant lufte, say y^t her waſte
Well feeles and fills not rudely when embrac'd,
Say her ſides commely riſing vp to ſpred
Vnblemiſht ſhoulders, armes and hands well fed
With veines and graſping ſinewſ, say her necke
Not drownd in ſhortneſſe nor of length à checke
Vnto proportion, ſuch as the maye wreath
To and agen and round, and after breath
A kiffe more flagrant. Be her face to bleſſe,
Mand by a beard, à ſonne with properneſſe ;
Be ſhe as y^e white roſe new ſpred ; but shame
It is in praifeing her to violate y^e fame
Of red haird men ; y^t colour doth not ſtaine
Or marke an Englifh head vnto diſdaigne.
Be it diſdaignfull and a monſtrous hue
Amongſt ye roſted melancholie crue
Of Mores and Spaniards ; let ye Italians faine
All the ill-naturd phansies of their braine ;
Believe our fleſh is mummie, and a flood
Of madcap wilefire iffues from our blood.
For ſo this prettie ſtorie one while went
From à graue prelat to three Nuns of Trent.
Roffo mal pelo ſay th' Italian maid
And wife vnwillingly because afraid
Leaſt ye more louely pleaſing coloured boye
Should make à husband jelous of his joye.

So for y^e memorie of Osiris slaine
By ruddie Typhon may Egyptians faine
Iustice in sacrifice of straingers, when
They but revendge their ruste as fairer men.
But on an English browe, à goulden tressé
Is herald to uprightnessse, couradge, valiantnesse,
To trustie secrett, whence on Trente and Twede
Tis proverb, To à red man rede thy rede.
By colour we derive theise vertues, Danes
Saxons and Normans colour in our veines ;
A progenie, which no black Countrie's fate
Shall ever finde or proove degenerate.
If she be proper white and commelye, rather
Marie y^e white rose and y^e red together,
And from their beds let spring and florish braue,
A race of Captaines to stand vp and faue
Our countries honour ; if y^e monarch thought
Of y^e Castilian, shall againe dare aught
Vppon our shoares, w' haue Amazons to breed
Niew names for victorie and war in steed
Of y^e stoute Norrice, Raleigh, Grindfield, Drake,
Whose ghoaftes or actions if they once awake
Our restie peace, praise her in most true rimes,
Fit breeding mother to such manly times.
And I in y^e Orient lustre of a head,
Valiew my self no Spaniard, for his redd.

* *

To MR. ANTHONYE WHITE, WHOE HAD MADE AN
ELEGYE ON MY SUPPOSED DEATH IN RUSLAND.

* *

THOSE piteous rimes, in which you did lament
My death's reporte, with courteous intent,
I much desire to see, and with theise fiew
Suddaine vnmeafurd lines request a view.
'Tis kindly now to tell your friend he must
Hide all his thoughts and purposes in duste;
Duste, element of Nature, where ev'rie thing
At last is nothing more, nor prince nor king :
Imaginations cease, in which I
Am sometimes greater than a Sultanie
To frolicket with my friends, or but to tell
By a great refusall, that not all is well
With men of greatest state. O how I dreame
To shewe you that I live, and beg a theme
Of death, whose teeth I must sommetimes abide,
With all y^e sequele and encreasing tide
Of men ; whose joints and bones although she crush,
She well digests our cares, and therefore hush
With silent mirth and confidence, I made
Haste to y^e portail of her grumbling shade ;
Yet turnd againe, when on y^e doares I red
My dayes of life were not yet perfited.
Well could I please to die ; but never please
Long at those doares staye courting grim disease,
Death's porter ; no where could I spie

The day and houre of my mortalitie.
Friendly be heere my watchman with y^t verse
Which shoulde haue binne summe honour to my herse,
That in disprize of death à quick desire
May keepe my soule still readie to aspire.

* * *

A funerall meditation on Richard Windsfore : à
gentle condicione man, whoe found his death
where he sought peace.

* * *

HEERE restis his duste whoe came to finde
Or seeke out peace in living kinde.
But seeke where euer, none shall haue
Peace till our dust be rakt in graue.
Our bodie dust and soule turnd ghoast
Make peace, who ever rules y^e roast.
The rich Lord heere may not disdaigne
A poore and fillye trembling swaine.
The guiltie man feares not y^e Judge
Nor doth neede make y^e ould wife trudge.
The opprefstor's voice heere soundeth not,
Nor the thundring canon shott
Can make y^e death-enchaunted head
Starte from y^e silence of his bed.
Heere lye still and sleep at reste

F F

All poore, with those were of ye beste,
With Kings and princes, whoe did frame
Eternall mansions to their name,
With Counsellors and manie more
Whoe had of gould and silver store.
Briefly to speake ye perfitt blisse,
Which in y^e lowlie dufte fownd is,
Besides à fraunchize from all feares
And joyes dissolving into teares.
The three professors are not wood
Heere to molest our triple good.
Heere where my friend sought not, he fownde
Peace at Sanctuarie vnder grownde.
In life of peace we treate and tell,
Peace in y^e dufte doth onely dwell,
Vntill y^e Lord of peace againe
Commes riding on y^e clowdes amaine,
And shall with trumpett's flourish, raiſe
Our bodies to our soules, to praise
His holye name with blisfull quire
Of Angells burning in desire
To crie aloude and cheerfull finge
Vnto y^e triumph of their King;
This dittie which shall neuer ceafe
Holie, holie, holie Prince of peace.



To Captaine Jhon Smith
on y^e edition of his
owne life.

* *

DEERE Noble Captaine, whoe by sea and land
To acte y^e earnest of thy name haft hand
And heart ; who canſt with ſkill deſigne ye forte,
The leaguer harbor, cittie, ſhore and porte ;
Whofe fwoard and penne in bould ruff Martiall wife
Putt forth to trie and beare away y^e prize
From Cefar and Blaize Montuc ; can it be
That men alone in Gonnells fortune fee
Thy worth advancd : no wonder, ſince our age
Is now at lardge a bedlem or a ſtaige.

* *

THE DEDICATION OF A SERMON TO MR SELDEN.

* *

GOE little book and kindely ſaye
Peace and content of night and daye
Vnto my noble *Selden*. Greete
His gentle hands, his knees, his feete,
In ſuch faire manner, as not he
Deeme any fainedneſſe in me.

Say that thy Maister oft doth bleffe
For his kinde loue God's holinesſe.
And leaſt thou hindrance be to ought
That buiſes his heroique thought ;
Say not much more, nor wiſh replie ;
But like y^e ſillie larke in ſkie,
When ended is his cheerfull laye,
Warble Adieu, and fall awaye.

* * *

To MR. I. S.

* * *

DEERE Noble friend, I in y^e Cittie heare
Mongſt other journall histories how neare
You were to death, when airing on y^e top
Of ledds, your long emprisonment, did droppe
A barbed shaft, at which by malice fhott
Or foolish medlye chance you ſtarthed not,
Nor I at y^e relation, ſince I knowe
Death's not your feare, which we to Nature owe.
Erect just mindes all ſervile feare aparte
Secluded, their true course with conſtant heart
Purfue, if others from themſelues to flie
Nor clowds more arrowes drop, yet men muſt die.

* * *

To M^R. BENJ : JHONSON ON HIS STAPLE OF NIEWS
FIRST PRESENTED.

* * *

SIR, if my robe and garbe were richly worth
The dainger of a statute comming forth,
Were I or man of law or law maker,
Or man of Courte to be an vndertaker ;
For judgement would I then comme in and say
The manye honours of your staple play :
But being nothing so, I dare not haile
The mightie floates of ignorance, whoe faille
With winde and tide ; their Sires, as stories tell,
In our eighth *Harrie's* time crownd *Skeltons Nell*,
And y^e foule Bois of *Whittington* with greene
Bayes, which on living frontes are rarelye feene ;
Soone sprung, foone fading ; but deserving verse,
Must take more lasting glorie from y^e herse ;
When vulgars loose their fight, and sacred peeres
Of poetrerie conspire to make your yeeres
Of memorie eternall, then you shalbe read
By all our race of Thespians, board and bed ;
And banck and boure, vallie and mountaine will
Rejoice to knowe somme pieces of your skill ;
Your rich Mosaique workes, inled by arte
And curious industrie with everie parte
And choice of all y^e Auncients.—So I write,
Though for your sake I dare not say and fighte.

* * *

An Execration on Marie of Colmogorod
in whose house I should haue binne
lodged if my man had not
tould me y^e condicion of
ye place.

* * *

A JAILORS wife and bawd and witch and hoare,
A legion of foule divells storme thy doare.
For he whoe enters there to sporte or reste,
Is hoares, bawdes, divells, witches, jaylors gueste.
If I wronge nature, turne parasite, or offend
The well growne creditt of my bosomme friend ;
Then all theise names take person, and make me
Runne mad familiar to such companie.
Till then good Genius saue me, that no spell
Intice my loosenesse to that finck of hell.
Shee turnes no currents nor makes Phebe faire
With staine and bluddie semblance fright y^e aire..
But y^e poore caitife maid, whoe with her finne
Makes vp y^e rent of so incestuous Inne.
Her arme she withers vp, because ye toye
Hath now forsaken ye vaine merchants boye,
To hire à mischief, when not long before
Not feing well her brocadge and y^e hoare,
She makes his bags of luste enflame as bigg
As futbals, and againe with champing of a figg
Returne vnto their measure, more then poetes faine
Is historie in her, when y^e could churle waine

Vnthalghs his secrets, or shall crack afunder
His pack of witchcraft, great wilbe y^e wonder
Of Fins, Laps, Samouites, magique withoute fraude
In Lifeland exiles and this Russian bawde.

* * *

AN EXECRATION OF HOTT WATER.

* * *

Thow drinke of death, thogh from life cald
Which doste our mawes and livers skald,
Onely be thou dranck of witches,
Pedlers, tinkers, and their bitches.
Bawdes, whoares, spent Ruffians, midnight dames,
Parboile their rotten finnes and shames
In thy blue liquour, base begotte,
Daughter of Ceres in Hell's grott,
By Pluto, Lord of ghoasts and so
Thow and baye salt doft make vs showe
Mixt in à flame by night. Braue, free,
Couragious Julian I doe pardon the[e]
The name of falling back, for stille
In deedē thogh not in name and will
Thy life was Christian, hating all
In meate or drink which makes men thrall
Vnto themselves; or when ye rude
Mad Celticks were by him subdude
He allso did their burnt wine damme,
And scorne with this choice Epigramme.

What kind of Bacchus drincke? I, by ye true
I know y^e not. Jove's sonne I onely kniewe,
He smelt of ambar, thou goate-like doft stincke
In wante of grapes by bowles of corne-made drincke.
Thow Bacchus-like no Bacchus arte of Joue,
But Ceres sonne borne in à Celtique stoue.

* * *

A CONSULTATION WITH MYSELF, WHEN I WAS CONFIN'D
INTO CLOSE KEEPING BY Y^E. LORDS.

* * *

DEERE God, by whome in darcke wombe's shade
I am to feare and wonder made,
Learne me what parte I am to beare
On this world's stage and theatre.
Miters and croziers are not things
That glie to my ambition wings.
For theis I nere did Mammon woe,
Nor flatter one great Lord or twoe.
But with a simple diett fed
Scarce cloath'd and frinded with a bed,
I was content in middle rancks
Of meaner sorte to view y^e prancks
And feates of men more active, whoe
Are better pleaseid in what they doe
Then I, whoe sceptikly scarce dare
Of beare, of lion, or of hare,

Or y^e worse race of Malepard
 Lowd speake what I haue seene or heard.
 Yet thrice I haue binne hal'd before
 Our Ephorismes of state full sore
 Against my will. And sure I must,
 Before to tiring roome of duste
 I turne, instruct somme scene, and giue
 My name to storie, whilst I live.
 Then, whether on Italian stage
 Or English, free or forc'd, I rage
 Or steale a silent parte, let be
 Deere Lord, my sowles rest ever free.
 As of Calanus lett none say
 Truly of me another day
 That I, well seene in antique lore,
 Did other Lords then God adore.¹

* *

A NIEW YEERES SONG FOR A PRINCE.

* *

SOFTLY Musique touche y^e stringe,
 Which must wake our gentle Kinge.
 Then praye him lende à hearing cleere
 Now timely in y^e niew borne yeare,

¹ Composed by the Author R. James : Written wth his owne hand,
 and presented to m[e] J. Rous, Bibl. 1633.

To an infusion from y^e penne
 Of prince and prelat, best of men.
 In holy rites, artes, armes and all
 Faire vertues hegumenicall [==ecumenical
 Cirenes peerelesse prelat gau^e
 Arcadius his Lord to faue
 This reenforc't advice. Beware
 Ye that of people rulers are,
 Beware of flatterie, with slie arte
 Which doth invade y^e princelie parte
 Your soules, through your Pretorian bands,
 Where Godlike Trajan's wisedome stands,
 Not ever sentinell, and swayes
 From privie flights to publique wayes,
 High rodes of justice, where to none
 The villaine flatterie is vnknowne.
 Where if he staye vntill y^e morne
 Even children crie him to y^e horne.
 Harrow harrow in Trajan's voice we leau^e
 One cannot all nor will all one deceiue.

* * *

TO ALBINA.

* * *

THY teares Albina and thy spleene
 Laden with grievance, darter haue beene,

To pierce my hearte ; faire Venus boye
Knew that no dalliance, smile or toye
Could force my gardes of sadnesse, weepe,
Nor sorrow more or else take keepe
Leaft from this inmate of my breast
Another powfull darte I reste.
And for theis teares I make you proove
A worse chainge of vnhappy loue.
The dayes that cloathe and feede and close
Their evenings in soft beds repose,
Whoe with repining's shame, scarce finde
A love that happy is and kinde.
Yet happy were I, dearest, true
And kinde I should be vnto you.

* * *

TO ALBINA.

* * *

DEAREST Albina my desire
Full readie were to kindle fire
And make à taper kindly flame
To Hymen's honour with your name.
But loue that heates y^e funne, againe
Nor cooles with gentle feare of paine,
To you encreasing, since my starres
As yours with fortune are at warres.

Shall we then joyne and surfett chance,
With our vnited sufferance ?
Or shall we in a purer fire
Of admiration and desire
Still burne like Laura and his bayes
Whose virgin grenenesse to our dayes
Fresh live : Your Noble spiritt is
Not her's beneath, and mine like his
From everye course of nature, winge
Should make to finde out everie thinge
Which may by arte of poesie
Well fett adorn your elogie.
Which read by princes and their Queenes
Showld us with them for happie tweens
Of loue remember, when late age
Hath spent y^e furie of time's rage.
Summetimes in smooth *Anacreon's* veine
I'le arme you through y^e flowrie plaine,
Springs, hills, groues, meadowes, shall reporte
To nymphs and swaines our sweete resorte.
Summetimes to please your high disdaigne
I'le strike y^e mightie friend of *Spaine*
With such growne vengeance as did neare
Beate from *Alcaeus* quill y^e eare
Of Greeks ; then with softer number
I'le kisse you into easie slumber
Shaded and husht with waving trees
And y^e best harmonie that flees,
Which for you to my phansie yeelds

A dreame of y^e Elizian fields.
The practice of Lords old and new
I'le wrighte in storie strainge and triew ;
Which you before best Romance shall
Preferre ; then let y^e satire fall.
At which embraced favour, I
Mounte with fresh courage to y^e skie,
To praise and not to search y^e eye
Of y^e all-viewing Dietie.
And dutie which to God and men
We owe, shall gently from my penne
In cleere streame of truth so glide,
As children shall and Ladies bide
In hollowes of y^e banck with playe
To wash y^e foyle of night and daye.
To such no sad illusions heere
Of braine-fick phansies shall apeere.
But unto Tyrants and their traine
More fright shall shewe then poets faine
Nor shall à rustie cankerd file
Of usurers, theife stremes defile.
Yette shall theife stremes with billowes roar
If malice doe but neere y^e shoare.
And if your goodnesse cheere me, more
I shall of antique truth restore.
At whose fight chac'd with prose and verse
Fals semblance shall her troupes disperse.
Most deere *Albina*, doe not weene
You heere à peacock's pride haue seene.

But for my true love spare to looſe
Your ſelf in a leſſe worthy nooze.
Or as you please; for I not dare
Binde love in my ſad life to ſhare.
And to your ſoule wiſh double glorie
If twice you enter purgatorie.

* *

ANACREON'S FOLLIE.

* *

If much ſtore of goulden wealth
Might preſerve our life and health,
I would with ſtrong care gould keepe,
That when death beganne to peepe,
It might take thence and paſſe by.
But if mortalls may not buye
Life at any price of gould,
Why with ſigths ſhould I waxe ould?
Why ſend I forth dolefull cryes
Since no plaintes mooue destinyes?
Downe then with my gowlden heape,
Lett vs drincke and make wine cheape.
Drincke with pleasing friends ſweete wine
With all choice of rich meates dine,
And at night on beds of downe,
Lay our softer Ladies downe.

* *

• To MR. PHILIP WOODHOUSE.

**

SIR if you my Mistris wed
Be her friend at board and bed,
And before men that alowe
You must vnto Hymen vowe,
This and more, that vowe preferve,
She will stll your loue deserve.
Gentle nature, noble aire,
Her encreasing triple faire,
Such as you perchance maye finde
In her Faerie Queene designd
Once by me, whoe cannot raire
Vnto meritt equall prafe.
A wife that is more cleane then fine,
That is not sick in love with wine,
That fairer is of minde then face,
And yet there beares à gentle grace ;
Who is more proude of doing good
Then of descent from Noble blood.
Whose over zeale or fond delight
Doth neither vexe y^e daye nor night
Her friend, whoe marryes, and in chief
From him doth holde her joye and grief.
At bed and board deere friends so blest
Praye wish to me eternall rest.
Faste vnion of hands and hearts

I that am Hymen's priest doe bleſſe
But wanton Cupid's roving darteres
Working much vengeance, more or leſſe,
On publicke and in private ſtate,
Braue ould Roomes ruine, be for hate
To Courtes and Countries of y^e foe,
Theife beaſtes enrage and of men make
In reaſons loſſe I vndertake
Worſe beaſtes then thoſe on foure feete goe.
Chaste marriadge is Nature's due
And bleſſe of God abiding true,
And bleſſe of men, whoe often faye,
O happie, and thrice, happie they,
Whome evil jarres, vncivill ſtrife,
Doe neuer parte till end of life.

* * *

AN ANNIVERSARIE OF MARRIDGE TO MR.
PHILIP WOODHOUSE.

* * *

Now Sir, y^e funne or earth hath circled rownd
Since you were fairely to my Miftris bownd
In holie fpowfall rites. I then did praye
My bleſſing on you bothe. And from that daye
Till this, I heare of peace and love no breach,
Which might, if ſtill y^r custome ſtood, impeach
Our journey vnto *Dunmowe*; *Dunmowe*, where
Was bacon for true lovers, when à yeare

And daye expired, they would comme and faye
 And sweare, that neither did by night or daye
 Repent their tie of love. Lett dayes and yeeres
 So still continue to my gentle peeres
 Of love. Chafte loue, loue hymeneall be
 Your honour, as was virginne chaftie
Mathildae's, ould *Fitzwalter's* daughter; whoe
 Choſe rather die a Nunne then basely doe
 The luſtfull pleasure of a loose-bent prince;
 She died at *Dunmowe*. And hath bacon ſince
 Fed in *Fitzwalter's* forſets by gift beene
 A ſportfull prize for equall lovers ſeene.
 But joye they in their vertue, chief reward
 Vnto itſelf in peace, though monks be bard
 From all their wilie triumphs, toyes and japes
 With which in *Chaucer* they make people apes.
 Or apes and feller beaſtes our ſelves we prooue,
 When we forſake faire order in our loue,
 Faire peace, faire conſtancie. And lett thofe wills
 Which diſagree, goe dig downe *Mauborne* hills.

* * *

VPPON DEATH AND DIJNGE:

AGATHIUS HIS EP.

* * *

WHY feare we death, which matter is of reſte,
 Cure of diſeaſes, povertie's relief.

By her we mortalls onely once are preft,
 She never doth present à second grief.
 But foule diseases manie manie wife
 Exchainge and multiplie our griefs and cries.

* * *

PALLADAS EPIGR. ON Y^E SAME.

* * *

PEOPLE's furie, Tyrante's rage,
 Chandge of fortune and of age,
 Gusts of passion, fright of hell,
 All this in our bodies dwell ;
 When from them our soules are freed,
 To y^e eternall God they speed.

* * *

ARCHIAS EP. VPPON HUMANE LIFE.

* * *

I PRAISE y^e Thracian mothers whoe doe mourne
 For their children newly borne,
 Againe with blessing them dismisse, when fate
 Doth snatch them from our mortall state.
 In birth they enter seas of mischief; all
 Which, perish in à funeral.

* * *

GREEK EP. VPPON Y^E SAME.

* * *

ALL things are dufe and laughter, all things naught,
For out of fensles things were all things wrought.

* * *

POSIDIIPPUS ON HUMANE LIFE: EP.

* * *

WHAT course of life is choicefull? plie y^E lawe
Ther's strife and doubtfull issye. Staye at home,
'Tis thoughtfull. Culture of y^E fields doth drawe
And weare out strength. Furrowe y^E brinish foame,
Terror is in y^E sea. Through forreyne lands whoe straye
Well-stor'd invite a villaine to their harme,
And nothing bore, makes manye à pining daye.
Goe marrie, and against thy cares no charme
Prevailles, yet lonefomme is à single life.
Children, are forrowe, none, à civill maime.
Young yeeres, of trifling fooleries be rife
And ould at nought but restivenesse doe ayme.
If then our soules might chuse, best heresie,
Life not to enter, or leauue prefentlye.

* * *

METRODORUS ON HUMANE LIFE.

* *

TAKE any life, Courtes and rialtoes roome
 Haue for thy witt and wisdomme. Staye at hoame,
 Ther's reste. The fields fresh nature. From y^e seas
 Commes wealth, which if in foreyne lands thou please
 To spend, tis glorious. If there thou wante, whoe knowes
 But thine owne self? Haft thou a wife? y^e close
 In house is pleasing: whoe not marries, more
 In ease may liue, and live wth greater store.
 Children are louelie, chidleſſe men no cares
 Haue, youthfull dayes and lustinesſe are pares.
 Graye hayres best knowe religion. Be not wood
 Or not to liue or die, in life all's good.

* *

GREEK EPIGR. ON
EXCESSE.

* *

EXCESSE of bathing, wine, and luste
 Our bodies quickly turne to duste.

* *

BIZANTINUS GR. EP. AGAINST FLATTERERS.

* *

THAT prince whose eares to glozing flatterie
 Are loft, betraies just men to villanie
 Of evill tounys; and therefore juste men oughte
 Hate bothe alike, for surelye bothe are naught.

* *

PALLADAS EP. ON PRIDE OF MEN.

* *

THOROUGH our nostrills snuffing à thinnē aire
 We live and view ye heavens faire.
 So all men live : we are but neurospasfts
 Slight airie motions, winedye blafts.
 Shutt vp those ventalls with an easie hand
 Robd of our fowles, in graue we land.
 So nothing' being, with prowde hope we swell,
 In durte à little aire doth dwell.

* *

AN EP. OF YE SAME SUBJECT AND PERSON.

* *

MAN if thou knowe what did thy father when
 He the[e] begott, thou wilt all loftineſſe

Soone quitt, nor be puft vp with Platoe's pen
 Dreaming ye plant of heavn'lye dioceſſe.
 Thow arte but claye fond man ; and ſo the beſt
 We ſpeake of what thow arte in ſeemely phraſe.
 And if y^e naked truthe thow not deteſt
 I dare not faye, it is ſo fowly bafe.

* * *

ON FLATTERERS OF GREATNESSE.

* * *

FLATTERERS confound humane ſtate, they make
 Princes and prelates from y^e heavens to fall.
 And lett them fall from grace, and truthe, and all
 Nature of goodneffe, vntill heavens take
 Their ſtrict accounte. Their perſons are not aught
 In robe or royltie if deedes be naught.

* * *

NICARCHUS HIS EP. ON FARTES.

FARTES ſtifled in ye gutts make manye die,
 Againe they fave, if forth they rumbling fly ;
 Then be not prowd great princes, ſince fartes haue
 As great a power as you, to kill or fave.

* * *

GREEKE EP. ON WINE.

* *

FOR no offence of mine my parents me
 Begatt pore wretch, vnto ye graue.
 O deadly coupling ! O neceffitie
 Which me to vgly death doth waue.
 Nothing I fhalbe as of nothing borne,
 Nothing but nothing is our kinde.
 Comme comme then Bacchus, in thy cup forlorne
 I will Care's oblivion finde.

* *

ON ALTESA A NOBLE COMMELYE LADYE.

* *

FORTH walking to receive ye breathing aire
 I was entreated by Altesa faire
 To reach her downe à brainche of willowe tree ;
 And I, then heedelesse that theis brainches be
 Sad emblemes, did her pleasure. Sure y^e rose
 And everie tulip that more lovely growes,
 Would glorie in such honour. Commelye, tall,
 In season, fresh, and flourishing with all
 Nature's perfections muste Altesa fee
 Her owne despaire in this wanne fruitleſs tree ?
 Then beauties knowe, theis times your dowries doe
 And not your persons or your vertues woe.

* *

ON KING CHARLES HIS RECOVERIE OF Y^E SMALE POXE.

* *

THOUGH Gods vnto vaine people princes be
 And fawning prelats giue immunitie
 To them from law ; truth, and y^e course of things
 In nature, knowe no priviledge of kings.
 Poore home-bred swaines and high-borne mightye kings
 Are vnto chance and sicknesse equall things.
 The King of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales,
 Hath felt y^e little poxe for all their tales.
 But he's recovered. So ; kinde subiects, then
 Praife God, and learne your princes are but men.

* *

A FUNERALL ELEGIE ON YONGE JACK SIMPSON.

* *

SEE how fruities growe ; summe fall betimes,
 In ye blosfomme with colde rimes.
 Summe till à groath of shape doe staye,
 And with red windes fall awaye.
 Summe growe to feede à worme y^t will
 Apple, peare, or damson spill.
 If wanton children plucke not rathe
 And à tempest worke no skathe.
 That fruities doe vnto ripenesse growe,
 Neither wrongd by jaye nor crowe,

Yet in the Autumne all muft downe
To y^e baskett of y^e clowne.
And even such is humane kinde.
Therefore mortalls be not blinde,
Much to teeme this life of ours
Bownded to summe dayes or houres,
Summe weekes, summe monthes, somme yeeres y^t be
Nothing to eternite.
The God of Nature bleffe vs there
And then heere, or when, or where
So ere we fall, againe we rise
Ever more for to despise
This fruitlike fruitlesse life of breath,
From which all are freed by death.
Now in this youth, tis all I write
Death had à greene appetite.

* * *

VPPON A SLOTHFULL HUSBAND STILL CALLING HIS
WIFE CHICKE.

* * *

CHICK still and chick Torpedo calls his wife,
Whoe is à prettye pigeon withoute strife.
He treads y^e chicke and chicke of broode is faine,
Still chicke? then hee's more capon of y^e twaine.

* * *

I I

To Cap^t David Gilbert, Scot. [Ad Capitaneum Dauidem
Gilbertum Scotum. cū vnā nauiga rem^c
in Dwina flumine.]

* * *

GOOD worthy Captaine if I weare so fraught
And large of fortune as I am of thought,
Tis not bothe Indies, not a world's surprise
Could give a present fit to equalise
And weigh the loue and wiſhinge w^{ch} I owe
To men of whome I doe believe or knowe
Valor and arte, or happier goodnesse ; but
Like y^e proud towringe faucon I must shut
The winges of my delusion, and with speeke
Stoupe to y^e lower willowes fedge, and weeke
To leſſe my angrie appetite : onely Sir
You shall receive no rich Siberian furre
That scornes y^e spite of Winter & dos keepe
The Baiore warme at surfet, fledd and sleepe
When y^e cheape Mggicke to y^e publique uiewe
Lies hard on ice, scarce pittied but of fewe ;
Shriul'd and starke with colde, I fend you heere,
Scarce a remembrance for y^e Ruffian yeere,
A thicke hot quilted could chillie staruinge lap
To speake true contrarietie but good hap ;
To which I haue enchanted warmenesse if much heart
And loue could worke like their blacke murmuringe arte.

(From James MS. N^o 13).

To Mr Daniel Clutterbooke vpon
occasion keepinge himself a ship boarde
in the haven of Archangell in
Russia in a Hamborow ship.

You muste have patience with your skipper good,
Good M^r Clutterbooke, in your Isle of wood,
And every morninge in your Almanack spie
Somme gratious Ladie for to largifie
His orient nose : so shall our northern clime
No more run hazard to and thwart y^e line
For cloves and pepper ; but this hotter spice
Mindes me to be more serious of advise ;
You muste strike of[f] your daintiest rundlet's houpes
To gratifie this M^r Kinge of Poupes
And winne his humour, if perchanc he shall
Againe adventure on our Hubberts thrall.
To hurle him oreboard, good Hance to[o] fine a dish
For the Lap's turbet, sea hounds or codfish,
With memorie of good drinke, y^u may then well prevent
His honourship's rage and tarrie regiment ;
For what can the best pilot spie on shoare
What head land, flat land, high land, fande or hawre
To steere safe course, when an eternall smoake
Doth there both marriner and the paffidge choake ?
An argument that all those nations are of right
Witches, and servantes to the fiend of light.

You will remember & I then transcende
To speake to[o] of your selfe, or make an ende :
I am no buisie fellowe, to aske how or why
You leapt seven hunderd leauges, onely to buy
Fitches and Vermins skins, or but to pledg her
Whome you love best from me, or to lie ledger
In the Archangell haven, disconsolat for foxes
Or fox tailes, seven fennights amongeft Butter boxes ;
To whome my prettie M^{rs} at no no call
Would warble forth her studied madrigall.
Tis sullen if you be to learne now, how to beare mischance
Which travails all our Merchants, Italie, Spaine, France ;
Whoe clothe themselfs wth vs, though no fire burns
As heere in Ruffia send but leane returnes ;
And so I end if so the poore may ende
And not abuse the name, your lovinge friend.

VII.
SACRED POEMS.

NOTE.

In the same year (1636) in which he wrote *Iter Lancastrense*, James translated into English a dialogue by Minucius Felix, called Octavius, which he published under the title, “Minucius Felix his Dialogue called Octavius; containing a Defence of Christian religion. Translated by Richard James, of C. C. C. Oxon. Printed by Leonard Lichfield for Thomas Huggins, 1636” (120). Appended, are the Sacred Poems, which follow.—G.



A GOOD FRIDAY THOUGHT.



THINKE how Christ in his
great pleasure tooke
A humane likenesse often in the
booke
Of man's creation, learning as
it were,
How in time's fullnesse Deity
could beare
The earnest of our flesh ; in it be
borne ;
Grow vp to three and thirty ;
then be torne
With scourges and the croffe ; be
crownd with thornes ;
Surprizd by treason, and revild
with scorns ;
Bee buffettid, bee spit on, to re-
store,
Those cruell actors to his loue
and lore ;

From which both they and wee
by serpent's wile
In our first parents fall vntill
this while
For eating some forbidden fa-
tall fruit,
Figge, Peare, or Apple ; which,
Ile¹ not dispute,
Astonisht with the wonder of
God's playe,
Amongst the sonns of men ; from
whence well may
We name our Gospell. He who
framed all
With one word, might without
a funerall
And passion of himselfe, all
repaire
With one new-pleasing breath
and gratefull aire.
But since for humane ransome
he would die,
I thus thinke on the sacred
history,
As from the holy Moore I
learne. Behold

¹ 'Ile' from MS. preferred to 'I.'

The price of man's redemption,
and be bold ;
To bleffe all nations, Christ
his bloud pourd forth :
What ransome may be equall to
such worth ?
What bee¹ all tribes of men ? In-
gratefull they
Or very proud, who dare to
thinke, or fay
Themselues so great, or this so
small, that none,
Should be by such price fadv'
but they alone.

A CHRISTMASSE CAROLL.

SINCE now the jolly seafon's
by
That giues and takes in curte-
fy,
I that haue nought to giue will
fing
A caroll to our infant King ;
The Prince of peace, the mighty Lord,
Who all created with a word.

¹ From MS. instead of 'but.'

And might so haue mankind
redeemd,
Had not another way best
seemd ;
Which I adore, not daring prie
In secrets of Divinity.
Haile blessed Virgin, mother
milde,
Which at this time didst beare
a childe !
Who in the booke of Genesis
Doth bruise the head of ser-
pents hisse,
And so as in allegorie
Would their embleme Grand-
fire worie.
His cradle was a manger, fed
Where lie the serpents, and doe
bed
In lothsome ordure neare ; else
place
Should by Mariamne's grace
In Herod's softest downe haue
beene
For a fairer Virgin Queene.
Whose burden, puzzling nature's
eye
Made a new brightnesse shine
in skye,

To guide three wife men rapt
in sensē,
With gold, with mirrhe, with
frankomfensē,
From their starre-gazing Ea-
sterne stage
To Bethlem in holy pilgri-
mage.
When round about poore filly
fwaynes
Grazing their sheepe on neigh-
bour plaines,
God's glory first by night did
show,
And from an Angell let them
know
Tidings of ioy to all mankind,
Which they in David's towne
should finde.
A swadling childe amongſt
beastes stor'd,
A Saviour which is Christ the
Lord,
Borne King of Iewes and Gen-
tiles all ;
Who in full time vnted shall
Humbly vnto him bend, and
praise,
His triumphe with eternall
layes.

Of many proofes which make
beliefe
In Christ so borne, this one is
chiefe :
The Iewes who scornd his lowly
birth,
Are skattered ouer all the
earth,
In false Christs oft bee¹ thousands
lost,
From on[e] land to another tost.
Their Priests, Scribes, all Ie-
rusalem,
Which troubled were at birth
of him,
Haye lost their Tribes, their
Temple, State,
A people, outcast, runnagate,
Now for one thousand thirtie
one
And full six hundred yeares
vndone.
Blest infant, sacred Deitie
So shrouded in humanitie,
Preferue this new yeare to my
friends,
From thoughts ill ravelld into
ends.

From MS. for 'by.'

Vouchsafe mee and my slender
rimes,
Not fawning on these faining
times.
Then shall I on thine Altar
 lay
In Antheme of Ascending day,
As erſt I have at Easter done,
Thy Threnothriambeuticon.

A HYMNE ON CHRIST'S ASCENSION.

To thy paſſion and thy birth
Bleſt Lord, I haue two anthemes
 fung;
Once more to ſing in holy mirth
Thy aſcending glory looſe my
 tongue,
That I with wonder and with
 praiſe,
May ſett forth all thy holie daies.

Borne lowly, then on shamefull
 Croſſe
By Iewes and Romans iudgd
 to dye,
In birth or death not any loſſe
Impeacht thy immortalitye.

Like Phebus after cloudes of
raine,
Thy God-head lustred forth a-
gaine.

Ascending, thou to men didst
giue,
To meanest men such guifts of
grace,
As whether they did dye or liue,
They forc't all hearts in highest
place,
To prostrate scepter, sword
and crowne
With worship to thy chiefe re-
nowne.

Poore fishermen of lakes, that
were
Unapt to sway with eloquence;
That knew not how to menace
speare,
Or blandish words that ravish
fense;
Even these poore Heralds' voyce
did tame
And winne all nations to thy
name.

When I am lifted up, faith he
In holy Gospell of Saint John,
Then all men will I draw to me ;
That is, to his confession.
To heauen from cratch and
croffe he went,
With men and angells merri-
ment.

Triumphant lord, no tongue, no
thought,
Can reach the wonder of thy
wayes,
But we must say, as Paul hath
taught,
Vnto thy everlasting praise,
The mysterie of godlinesse
Is such as no tongue can ex-
preſſe.

God in the flesh made manifest,
In the spirit iuftified ;
Seene of the angells, euer bleſt,
To the Gentiles verified ;
Believed on in the world his ſtory,
Was vp received into glory.

FINIS.

VIII.

LATIN POEMS: WITH ADDITIONS
FROM BODLEIAN MSS.

L L

NOTE.

Nos. XXI. to XXIV. are taken from the printed sources noted in the places. The remainder are from MS. No. 13, of which three only were printed by the late REV. THOMAS CORSER, in Introduction to his edition of the *Iter Lancastrense*, as before. False quantities occur in XVII. l. 22 ('bilis'), and on XVIII. l. 9 ('pertudit'). See also XIX. l. 9.—G.



I.

To Dr Sebastian Benfield : De Daveidis instrumentis
psalmodicis.

SANCTE Deus quo te celebrem modulamine ?
ritus
Jampridem ignorant secula prisca tuos.
Instrumenta illis pereunt, vix noia nobis
Quid Minnim, Gnuggab, Zabrale cū Nablio ?
Non bombos sonitus, neque tantararantia poscis,
Sed laudes cordis fletib. irrigui.
Mores non incrustati, simplexque voluntas
Sunt Minnim, Gnuggab, cætera quæque tibi.
(From MS. N°. 13, p. 1 : noia = nomina : fletib. =
fletibus.)

II.

An si quis in quem bona condiderit carmina in
eum sit ius iudiciumque. neg.

Non est sic Venuſine doces nescire libet quid

Quis de rubrica Bartholo-Baldus ait

In prætextatos mores regumque tumultus

Stringat sublimes vena benigna modos

Dic age Dic numero sublimi Maxime legum

Est tibi non paucis purpura cum maculis.

(From James MS. N°. 13, p. 7.)

III.

He notices the severe strictures of some of the Fathers—
Tertullian, Chrysostom, Cyprian—on the stage, and shows
that these were just as applied to the indecencies then
tolerated, but adds, that if these Fathers were now living
they would willingly attend the representation of Ben
Jonson's plays. These lines then follow :—

Ede tuos tandem populo Jonfone libellos

Et cultum docto pectore profer opus

Quod nee Cecropiæ damnent Pandionis artes

Nec fileant nostri prætereantque senes

Ante fores stantem dubitas admittere famam

Teque piget famæ præmia ferre tuae

Post te victuræ per te quoque vivere chartæ

Incipient, cineri gloria sera venit.

(*Ibid.* p. 25.)

IV.

An aurum fiat potabile. Aff.

Quid non docta potest vatum solertia, non vos
 Non vestras medici posco manus Arabes
 Illa aurum argentumque etiam pluteosque librosque
 Diluere infuso est ingeniosa mero.

(*Ibid.* p. 87.)

V.

In mortem optimi Avunculi Doctoris
 Edoardi James, nepotis carmen funebre.

Visceribus fecere tuis quid faxa petrarum ?
 Conveniens crustis non fuit iste locus
 Durū equidem genus est hominū et crudele, quibusq;
 Cepit faxorum fabula prisca fidem
 Hic capite hospitiū lapides, tententur acutē
 Horum hominū saxis ilia dura magis,
 Has, licet, in sedes, pulchro migrate coloni
 Ordine ; quis fatum hoc vidit et erubuit ?
 Hic rupices crustas, vivoq; fedilia faxo
 Absq; omni tutum est extruere invidia.
 Verum non vestrā patruus ab origine crevit
 Eset in affini ut corpore juris idem.
 Illi mens humana et carne induita, nec unquam
 In lapidem excoxit fervida avaritia

Aut misera ambitio, aut vindictæ dira libido
 Impiger aut maribus qui furor ardet equis.
 Udum et molle lutum, atq; Deū testante figura
 Vixit inequales difficilesq; dies.
 O quam multa Dei sanctis fulgebat imago
 Moribus et viva pectoris effigie :
 Egestos nudosq; lares spectare benignè,
 Et bona pauperibus spargere moris erat
 More probo et quali veterū vixere parentes
 Felices vetuit quos pia fama mori.
 Mortalis præsensq; Deus mihi queritur, author
 Quippe mihi vitæ non pereuntis erat
 Communis generi vindex, ego funere in isto
 Intus justa patri rufus ago lacrymis.
 Si vultus similes rides in pectore gestus
 Amissas rufus defleo nudus opes
 Quod veris querimur lacrymis, et define carmen
 Ut doleam tacito depereamq; finu.
 Livor pingi diem nigro carbone vel horam
 Qua vixit soli providus ille fibi
 Ergo fidereus jam vivit maior imago.
 Hâc mercede placent vel tua faxa mihi.

(*Ibid.* pp. 130, 131.)

VI.

In mortem Thomæ Andrewes M^ri Artium,
 cum quo vna electus fui in
 societatem C·C·C·

Quæ busto huic pietas debetur funeris ? eia
 Ad tumulum solito more decenter eat.
 Ocius et frondes herbarumque inspergite honorem
 Multa ἐτερω-μίκης fömina cum gemitu
 Accedat cippique deinde inscriptio, terræ
 Post onus egestum compositumque caput.
 Securi ut vermes faturentur : corporis vsum
 Desertorem animi, tanto dignamur honore.

(*Ibid.* pp. 138-9.)

VII.

On pp. 182, 183, 184 of MS. N°. 13, he has some reflections during a sleepless night, on the subject “cur nos rubricapites adeo in opprobrium quasi objiciamus ?” and quotes Martial (xii. 54).

“ Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine luscus,
 Rem magnam præstas Zoile si bonus es ”—

Thus rendered by himself, “ somni et lucis ambiguus.”

Squint, red-pate, black-mouth, stumpe foot under
 If Zoilus be good he does a wonder ;

And thinks that this may have been ignorantly applied to men of the northern nations without any reason.

VIII.

Ad M^r. Thomam Jacksonum,
qui in Festa die Strenaū mihi dono miserit Biblum.

Arripe quod subiti fervor dictavit amoris
Accedens proprijs, carminis et pedibus
Vt non fallaci voeat, sed auspice lingua
Te retro vt verfis fospitet annus equis.
Ille tuam curet semper reparetq; salutem
Cui noua nascenti hæc tempora sacra damus
Ille novum quondam qui laudibus extulit annum
Σοὶ τε νέον δεκτὸν νῦν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄγη
Atq; salute nova tutum te proluat ille
Cuius sacra tuo munere strena mea est.
Lætare auspicio, facer hæc sunt impetus, et non
Attoniti veniunt carmina fontis opus.
Nulla pœne mora strenarum numine plenus
Hæc citus adscripsi, felixq; i. pagina dixi. (From
N^o. 27 in MS., also in MS. 13, p. 210.)

IX.

Ad amicum suum Robertum Tailerum qui nobis miserit
picturam Roberti hominis turpissimi.
Idolum idoli tabulâ hâc Tailere dedisti
Tantum etenim idolum est ipse et imago hominis
Ingenium ast laudo, nullo ex doctore venustum
Cedat Parrafii cui labor atque Scopæ

Vivi e quidem claves humerosque et linteae cerno
 Menti dimidium est vulsaque barba subest.
 Aspicit intrantes tam recte et prætereuntes
 Pileum et tam simili pinsitat arte suum.
 Oh! si animi fraudes fordesque effingere possis
 Turpior in terris nulla tabella foret.

(*Ibid.* p. 217.)

X.

In Delphinum¹ insigne
 Jameianorum Vectenium.

Adversæ quamvis lacerum fecere procellæ
 Et maris imperio concutiente feror
 Demersæ ex plebis numero Delphinus in auras
 Me levat et freta per fervida scindit iter.
 Non ventosa adeo est gens nostra ut imagine macrâ
 Delphini et picta se efferat effigie
 Dicit amatores hominum nos piscis, in isto
 Omine nec syrtes nec fera saxa queror
 Qua te, purus amor, venerer pietate, tot inter
 Aëstus qui fractam non finis esse ratem
 Misceat atq; novos moveat vesana tumultus
 Relligio; cœlum non ruit, huic fidei.

¹ This is in allusion to the arms borne by the family of James, which were Vert, a dolphin, naiant.

Hæc subitus scripsi in libro stemmatū
 Isaaci Massæ legati ad Moscos pro
 Illustrissimis ordinibus Belgiae in
 urbe Vraslaviae An. Dom. 1618.

(*Ibid.* p. 238.)

XI.

Sacrum memoriæ strenui militis et ducis Thomæ Euystace
 Ibernici occisi a Polonis dum affereret portas
 et urbem Moscuæ An. Dn. 1618.

Exclusus moritur defensæ in nomine gentis
 Russorum portas Sarmata ne caperet
 Bellum nunc bellum atque virum cantabit Ierna
 Vix Priamus tanti totaque Troia fuit
 Thedor Moscua.

(*Ibid.* p. 238.)

XII.

De Cometa quæ apparuit iuxta ursam
 maiorem Ann. Dn. 1618. per spatium mensis
 in Decembri et Novembri, quam vidimus
 in Varislavia Ruthenorum.

Tunc cum Sarmatici cœperunt fœdera pacis
 Frustrati Gallo milite ne caperent

Vix, Michæle, tibi steterint quæ mœnia, fallax
 In quibus haud tantum mobile vulgus erat.
 Emicuit septem inter circumfesta triones
 Promittens longam dira cometa facem,
 Nos quod portentum flammæ quæsivimus acri
 Suspicione omnes, quisq;:, fibi metuens.
 Anglis ipse timens, ne forsitan invidiosa
 Si foret occasu, magne Jacobe, tuo
 Extimui et ne religio yefana furensq;
 Armaret Batavos in sua fata duces.
 Aut minor est forsan mundi iactura rubentis
 Germani hoc fidus Cæsar is esse potest.
 Plebeio at nunquam coalescit sanguine regni
 Jus dubium, regum est sanguinis istud opus.
 Sarmaticosq; Ruthenosq; inter cœlum interituram
 Pacem quod bello miscuit inde rubet.

(*Ibid.* p. 239.)

XIII.

In quendam qui ebrius in vrbe Moscua periculū
 fecerit fortitudinis in imagines camini
 Amphora Russa tuas resonet quæ buccina laudes
 Per quam sic nostri Martis amore viri
 Exultant, stetit in furno depicta juventus
 Et sonipes quales in fera bella ruunt.
 Romphæa pharetraque scloperti et fulgure, miles
 Hic multa pugnax arte decenter erat

Non tulit hoc generosa bilis, sed et arripit ensim
 Et, dirum, vero se putat hoste peti.
 Ivit in occursum, belli belli oīs imago
 Occidit, inque tuo pulvere furne iaces.
 s, pistillique equitem sic, sic et Iberum
 Lishotum verâ vicimus historiâ.¹

(*Ibid.* p. 240.)

XIV.

Hæc tibi dulcis amice damus, licet irrita, sancte
 Et nostra et vetulæ pariter suspiria rides.

Epitaphium strenui ducis
 Thomæ Eustace.

Militis hic strenui ducis hic sua facta tacentis
 Dum grandi exemplo vixerit, ossa silent
 Non te ego sed vanæ dicam ludibria genti
 Laude suâ hæc tumidus si quis ad ossa venit
 Qui legis hæc, sic terra lutum, tibi fama decusque
 Gloria servatæ sit licet urbis, erit.

(*Ibid.* p. 240.)

¹ The reference is to "The Knight of the Burning Pestle" by Beaumont and Fletcher, as well as to "Don Quixote." "The play appears to have been produced in 1611, for Burro in the Dedication to the first quarto, 1613, declares that he had 'fostered it privately in his bosom these two years,' and that it was the 'elder of *Don Quixote above a year*',—meaning doubtless the translation of that work by Skelton, which was published in 1612" (Dyce, Introduction to the Play, ii. p. 125).

XV.

Ad Fratrem suum Guillielmum
 Gardinerum cum ei dono
 mitteret Mornæum
 de Veritate
 Xianæ Religionis.

Mi frater nostri mitto hunc tibi pignus amoris
 Librum qui est avido plurimus ore mihi
 Tertullianum da dixit sæpe Magistrum
 Cuius nigra fuit sanguine dives humus
 Atque ego Mornæum hunc sic posco sæpe catenam
 Cum quo curarum solvere dulce fuit
 Quam tribus ille tibi chartis omne explicat ævum et
 Devia per certo fidere ducit iter
 Nulla usquam fæcunda magis sit lectio sacr[a]
 Si cupis historiæ noscere mysteria
 Quicquid habent veterum scripta et monumenta priorum
 Omne tibi hoc venâ divite pandit opus.

Tuus et Janæ tuæ
 frater amantissimus
 R. JAMES.

[a] Vide Lactantium, lib. 1, 5 ch. historia de religione.
 (Ibid. p. 240.)

XVI.

Crimæus Danusque Suevusq: atque Polonus
 Cum peterent sceptrum terra Ruthena tuum

In cœlo visi quatuor rutilescere soles
 Et claram insolitâ luce notare diem
 Iride sed superintensa, quæ fausta tumultus
 Compescet forsan terra Ruthena tuos
 Sed scelerum es adeo portentis dira furentes
 Ut timeam ventos, fulgura, diluvium
 Aversaque viros turpique libidine perdis
 Hosti qui pro te tergora colla darent
 An fileam ? cænæ an memorem fastigia ? caprâ
 Dum meditor ventrem pascere, pasco virum
 Dat mihi Tchornitzæ aut Baioris filius infans
 Ignotas caprâ de genitrice dapes
 Hæc vox est populi, multorum est gloria, plures
 Incestosque, nefas, noscere concubitus.
 Arthuro ut Astono equiti cum perditus Anglo
 Qui illius in curam missus ab urbe venit
 Non de plebe hominum iactaret post meretricis
 Septem Brutorum noscere se coitus .
 Non ullam metuens censuram nulla tiaræ
 Fulmina, nec vani conscientia iura tori
 Quin condat poscatque diem fibi lucidus æther
 Ne purus castis ignibus aspiciat
 Hos putres gestus morum hæc ut crimina cernas
 Nonne satis oculos est habuisse duos
 Vana loquor toties geminato lumine cœlum
 Prospicit in pœnas impia terra tuas
 1619, Feb. 16. Inter Colmogrodum et Archangelum visi
 sunt quatuor soles cum iride &c^a. (*Ibid.* p. 243.)

XVII.

In servum nequam et ebrium.

Quas laudes numerem servi fidelis, amorem
Qui Dominum vera relligionē colit
Non nudo capite aut decurvo poplite, nec qui
Prono gupsatos despicit ore pedes
Sed mea cum ratio iussit qui rebus agendis
Fidus siccusque et sobrius esse potest
Dulcibus hic natis hic charā conjugē vitam
Præferat, in votis hic mihi servus erit
Ingenio hoc quando vivam mala multa precari
Non fas criminibus pessime serve tuis
Ære meo pauper dum vivam impune licebit
Cætera divitiis computet ille suis
Non veto quin curas iugulet mihi providus, et quin
Ternis ter cyathis gaudia promoveat
Sed quare quadrupedem servum pedibusq: carentem
Et manibus faciat nigra taberna meum
Servus ni foret a risu quis temperet, illum
Bacchus dum illudit postibus et tenebris
Quos comites putat adversos, et luce sequenti
Pugnæ nescio quod grande minatur opus
Cum fervor capitī acceffit, sic provocat omnes
Cambri huius infana ac irrequieta bilis

Ut nisi cum nobis mea gratia sœpe valeret
 Tantum Massorio non foret ore rudis
 Auriculis oculis nasoque et fronte cutis fit
 An vestis dubium laciniosa magis
 Quo fato aufugit dignas epigrammate mortes
 Cum Neptune tuos incidit in socios.
 Horrida turba illum contis remisque cruentum
 Surdi præcipitant in mare turba nequam
 Effet ni de homine binis contentio fatis
 Vel fatis ad mortem casus uterque fuit
 His ego si indigner sic peior fabula fiet
 Non uno gemitus murmure plena domus
 Quid faciam huic servo jubeo miserum esse libenter
 Ne pereat curis ebrietate mori.

(*Ibid.* pp. 245, 246.)

XVIII.

In mortem Doctoris Johannis Flemminge
 qui obiit ex consumptione cordis.

Quam benè cordatus Flemmingus vixerit et quam
 Strenu[u]s, et verâ fidus amicitia
 Nos tua turba omnes de pectore novimus atque
 Norunt, qui audierant fortia verba viri

Et tamen excordis moritur, scindente chirуро
 Et subiti latebras inspiciente mali.
 Nil lacrymis inhibemus iter, purgatorи umbra
 Nunc tua secretam pervolet ad requiem
 Res non mira omnem qui se pertudit amicis
 Siccato cordis sanguine posse mori.

(*Ibid.* p. 251.)

XIX.

Cum in manus venisset casu 3^{ta} editio operis de pietate
 Ludovici Bayly Bangorienfis, hæc scripsi in
 Germanico quodam hospitio Londini.

Quam docta et qualis tua fit Theologia Leuze
 Garrit ad incudem nigra taberna suum
 Noverunt nautæ, pictores, hoc genus omne
 Quisquis amat noctem Sancte Clementique tuam
 Sic tamen es vulgi notissima fabula quando
 Non te vulgarem dicere quis metuit
 Hæc est condicio nostræ Leuze optime vitæ
 Sordet quod vulgi judicio petitur
 Verum consule me, damnum fit quamvis bibliopolis
 Qui te præfentis numinis instar habent.
 Invidiæ auctorem commendat rarior usus
 Si fiat non excusso tergemina
 Nunc pietatis opus tot chartas fœtat, abundè
 Et tibi Stercuti ut pagina sacra cadat.

(*Ibid.* p. 252.)

XX.

After some criticisms on the injudicious remarks often made at a death-bed by surrounding friends, he writes the following as an epicedium on the death of a relative, Tobias Eedes. (*Ibid.* p. 255.)

Non loquor exactæ vitæ suspiria, qualis
 In gemitu, extremæ aut fuerint quæ insomnia mentis
 Sermonum fragmenta dolor quæ et morbus fuderit aut quæ
 Dictarunt ægro resonanti blanda fodales
 Hæc referant alio, quibus isto in funere sanguis
 Cognatus non marcescit: me tollere crura
 Sandapilæ pulchro juvat et procedere gressu
 Ad tumulum, victorem humeris contollere carnem
 De vita et morbis in sola morte caducis.
 Nascentis folæ vetulæ mysteria noscant
 Turpia, cum morimur pompam dant funera iustum.

XXI.

Ad Librum suum.

Cujus vis fieri libelle munus?
 Festina tibi vindicem parare,
 Ne nigri citò stigmatis liturā
 Censuraq; gravi ambules perunctus

Damnatæ soleant quo abire chartæ ;
 Vel fias olidâ madens tabernâ.
Seldeni fugis in finum ? sapisti.
 Exhortor moneoq ; te libelle
 Diferto huic placeas *Apollinari* ;
 Nil exactius eruditiusq ;
 Sed nec candidius benigniusq ;
 Illo vindice non timebis atros
 Dentes, livida vel *Theonis* ora,
 Quæ ferrugine tincta ; non cachinnos
 Non ronchos hominum maligniorum ;
 Hæc expertus ego libelle dico.
 Pro me (ne metuas) jube salutem,
 Quam portâ accipiet bonus patente.
 Si quærit quid agam, studere dices
 Post præludia velitis papyri,
 Vt majori operâ placere possim.

(Prefixed to "Ante-Possevinus," &c., 1625.
 See our Introduction.)

XXII.

Viri Clarissimi Rob. Cottoni ab antiquâ
 Regum profapiâ oriundi Epicedium.

Qyalis HOMERUS erat, de cuius fonte furores
 Sacros hauserunt veteresque nouique Poetæ.
 Talis eras nostros inter COTTONE BRITANNOS
 Rerum explorator veterum. Civilia jura

Regni, Magnatum molimina, munia Regum
 Et populi, nexus faustos, divertia fæva,
 Navigia et merces, castra, artes, religiones,
 Nummos, structuras, chartas, solemnia verba,
 Et quicquid bello faceret vel pace triumphos
 Callebat dextrè nemo magis. Omnis ab illo
 Et tua CAMDENE & SELDENI gloria crevit,
 SELDENI tam justitiâ quàm jure periti.
 Ingentes dominos titulorum dote superbos
 Famososq; Equites, simul omnes si periissent,
 Quivis Rex Orbi potis est renovare, beatum
 COTTONI pectus nullâ est reparabile cerâ.
 Ingenio quicunq; vigent tua tecta frequenter
 Visebant tñquam à Phœbo responsa petentes.
 Nunc Oracla silent. Sed non schediasmate tantæ
 Oceanum laudis liçeat superare, misellum
 Nescio quid gaudens ad amici justa litasse,
 Omnia complectar celebrat WIGORNIA verbis
 Queis NECKAMI obitum, crescitq; in carmine verum
 “ Ecclipsim patitur sapientia, sol sepelitur.
 “ Cui si par vñus minus esset flebile funus.”
 (From end of “ Epistola Thomæ Mori ad Academ,”
 &c. 1633. See our Introduction.)

XXIII.

De Pvteo Sancti Edwardi in Aedibus
 COTTONIANIS sub ejus obitum
 exarefcente.

* * * *

EXcessit COTTONE tuus cùm spiritus aurâ
 Cœlorum gaudens liberiore frui,
 Arescit fons ille facer de nomine dictus
 Regis qui ANGLORUM IUSTINIANUS erat.
 Quæ vivo tibi non vñquam defecit in vsus,
 Cùm moreris latices subtrahit vnda suos.
 Sit LETHERHEADE tuus gurges non fabula vulgi.
 Sitq, BRERETONIA certa palude fides.
 Sint Regum augustæ mortes rutilante cometâ,
 Vt decoret mortem Regia lympha tuam.
 Res memoranda magis tamen est Annalibus, omnis
 ANGLIA quòd pro te non fluat in lachrymas,
 Pro VARRONE suo, pro BRITONE CYNOBELINO,
 Qui illam tanquam vngues noverat & digitos.
 Quæ Reges, quæ Barones non parturit ætas?
 Sed tibi vix dederint sœcula cuncta parem.

(*Ibid.*)

XXIV.

Epicedivm Magistri Thomæ Alleni
 de Aula Gloucestrensi.

Acasdim quod Dæmonicos sonat, ignorantes
 Chaldæos ducunt cœlestia pectora, primi

Qui radio in certas traxerunt fidera leges,
Chaldae vocis Cheledh ab origine purâ
Dicendi magis egregiè, quâ voce notari
Camporum aut similis facies diffusa per amnes
Aut mensurandi ratio Geometrica possit.
CHALDÆIS quod divine senex tibi contigit, alta
Cœlorum secreta tibi cognoscere curæ
Cùm fuerat, plebi fallaxq; magusq; videris,
Sed plebi indoctæ, quam si vel baltheus ambit
Vel toga, tu spernens semper, virtute quietâ
Compositus semperq; tuus ; non degener arte
Principibus placuisse viris. Nec juncta mathefi
Fama minor, veterum quâ scripta & gesta revolvens
Eruis in lucem. Sic cùm te fata vocarent,
Supra hyemes vitæ post nonaginta peractas
Mortem non metuens optansve ad sydera migras.

(*Ibid.*)

IX.

REASONS CONCERNING THE
ATTEMPTS ON THE LIVES
OF GREAT PERSONAGES.

NOTE.

This remarkable Letter (on which see our Introduction) is No. 34 of the Bodleian MSS. The late Mr. Corser quoted from it considerably, but with puzzling and again uncharacteristic incorrectness. I have given the Latin quotations from less-known writers *in extenso*; but long ones from Cicero, St. Augustine, Tertullian, and others readily accessible, I merely quote the commencement of, with references to their Works. The following contractions may here be noted :—

- q̄ = que.
sc̄t = scilicet (once).
.n., better 'n' = enim.
& = et.
v̄t = videlicet (once).
ȳe, ȳt = the, that.
s̄r = fir.
ōes = omnes (once).
hōes = homines (once).
ū, ū = um.

Also ij is constantly written where we should print ii or ji.
ă usually has the accent or curved mark above it when it is a separate word.

u where we use v, and vice versa, is common.
æ James always wrote, both for æ and œ.—G.



IR, if you please to learne my minde concerning attempts on y^e lives of great personages, I shall easily say you manie reasons why this cannot be donne with pietie and religion.

First, because in storie such actions are hatefull under the name of assencion, the originall of which vntill we be more cleerely enformed from the late excellent Syrian and Arabic collection of Golius, is by Jacobus de Vitriaco thus sett downe in his brief of the Jerusalem historie—‘ In provincia autem Phænicis, circa fines civitatis Anteradensis, quæ hodie vulgariter appellatur Tortosa, quidam populus scopulis et montibus vndiq^b circumclusus inhabitat, habens castella decem fortissima, et propter viarum angustias et rupes inacceſſibiles inexpugnabilior, cum subvrbanis, et vallis omnium fructuum et frugum fertilitate fæcundissimis, et amænitate jucundis. Horum autem hominum, qui Assafini nuncupantur, quadraginta millium numerum exceedere dicitur multitudo. Præficiunt autem sibi Capitaneum non succeſſione hæreditariâ, sed meritorum prærogativa, quem ipsi Veterem seu Senem appellant, non tam proiectæ ætatis ratione, quam prudentiæ et dignitatis præminentia. Primus

autem et summus infiustæ religionis eorum Abbas, et locus, vnde principium habuerunt, et à quo Syriam venerunt, in partibus est Orientalibus valdè remotis versus civitatem Baldaensem, et partes Persidis provinciæ. Hi autem vngulam non findentes, neq; sacram à prophano discernentes, omnem indifferenter obedientiam superiori suo exhibitam, sibi credunt esse vitæ æternæ meritoriam. Vnde tanto subjectionis et obedientiæ vinculo magistro suo, ¹obliguntur quem Senem nominant astringuntur, quòd nil ita periculofum est et difficile, quod ad mandatum domini sui hilari animo et ardenti voluntate amplecti et perficere vereantur. Senex autem dominus eorum, pueros de populo illo in locis secretis et delectabilibus facit nutriri, et diversis idiomatum generibus diligenter imbutos et instructos ad varias provincias mittit cum cultellis et potentes homines tām ex Christianis quām ex Saracenis, vel quia ex aliqua causa habet eos odio, vel ad preces amicorum suorum, seu etiam propter immensæ pecuniæ pretium fibi datum mandat occidi ; promittens propter hujus mandati executionem longè majores delicias habituros sine fine in paradyso post mortem, quām sint illæ in quibus fuerunt enutriti. Quòd si propter hujusmodi obedientiam eos mori contigerit, martyres à suis judicantur, et inter sanctos ab illo populo deputati in summa habentur reverentia. Parentes autem eorum à magistro, qui Senex dicitur, multis muneribus ditati, si servi fuerant, de cætero liberi dimittuntur. Vnde miseri et seducti adolescentes de conventu prædictorum fratrum ad varias partes mundi trans-

¹ ‘Obliguntur’ is in the MS. erased.

miffas cum tanto gaudio et desiderio legationem mortiferam suscipiunt, cum tanta diligentia et sollicitudine perficiunt, sefe varijs modis transfigurantes, et aliarum nationum ritus et habitum sibi assumentes, aliquando in specie mercatorum, quandoq^b in specie Clericorum seu Monachorum, et infinitis alijs modis sefe occultantes, quòd vix aliquis in vniverso mundo adeo cantus est, qui sibi possit ab eorum infidiis præcavere. Contra inferiores personas aliquid machinari dediguntur. Potentes autem, quibus ipsi aduersantur, vel pretio magno se redimunt, vel armati incidentes cum caterva fatellitū, cum suspicione et metu mortis semper incidentur.'

Secondly, because this doctrine of assassination is abominable vnto y^e reformed Churches and other more moderate Catholiques in the practise and assertions of y^e Jesuites, against whome manie excellent writings are extant, and amongst them to my esteeme that one most memorable brief treatise called y^e Franc Discourse.

Thirdly, because the doctrine and practise of y^e primitive Christians is heerein fully opposite, as maye apeere from theis places of Tertullian in his book to Scapula Governour of Carthage, and his Apologie against the Gentiles. ‘ Nos quidem ’ &c.¹

Fourthly, because such violent attempts seldomme or never procure amendment, as we may see in the Roman

¹ From Ad Scapulam Liber, cap. 1. He also quotes from cap. 2. “ Circa Majestatem imperatoris . . . et salvum velit,” &c., and “ Et vtq^b ex disciplina . . . modestia agimus; ” also from his Apologeticus, cap. 37, “ Externi sumus et . . . quàm occidere; ” and cap. 36, “ Male velle, male facere . . . per deum tantus est.”

empire: How often did they with Lucan seeke Libertie in the ruine of their princes, and yet were at last forced to the wonder of Tacitus, through despaire rather to fall on themselves. Neither will any man thincke that the privie bulletts which strooke the Prince of Orange twice, gaid yeither ground or glorie to the Spanish Nation. Of which acte Grotius writes and concludes an heroique poeme in this high rapture and disdaigne.

Evenere Tagi nunquam caritura pudore
Crimina, queis nondum reperere vocabula linguæ,
&c. &c.¹

Cicero was a man inferiour to none in civill vertue whilest he livd, and so with incomparable courage and wisedomme in his consulshippe dispersed and defeated the impious conspiracie of Catuline; for which service he bore deservedly the Title of *pater patriæ*, yet in Brutus he apprehended ανοιγάντοντα, sommething an unsociable nature; and for this fourth reason, as it seemes, least the exemple might proove daungerous to better times, he would not by any meanes in his privacie attempt on Julius Cæsar. Of whome and Pompey, Catullus said truely sacer generq; perdidistis omnia. Wherefore his second Philippic though otherwise according to the season, various of censure, hath a replie vnto M. Antonie after this manner—Tu verò ascribe me, &c. &c.² What that sentence of Cicero was, himself

¹ From Hug. Grotii Poemata, Silvæ, Lib. i., Genealogia Nassauorum, ad finem.

² From Cicero, Philipp. 2, ch. 13, § 33: ch. 14, § 34: also ch. 15, § 37-38, “Fateor . . . in hac vrbe mansisses,” &c.

hath before exprest in his first Philippic in theis words ‘Nec à rep. deijiebam oculos’ &c. &c.¹ And assuredly this civill oblivion is worthy the consultation of all trve patriotes, and to it the Scripture addes *Beati pacifici.*

Fifthly, for manie speciall reasons concerning the discre-
tion of attempting men, which are gathered together somme-
where in Michaell Mountaines effayes, of which in absence
of my book I have not now any perfect remembrance, but
he that pleases maye at better leasure retrive them in their
proper place, and so receive more satisfaction. See also
Thom. Aquinas, cap. vi. de regimine principum.

Sixthly, because, as Saint James saith, the wrath of man
worketh not that which is righteous before God. We
ought to staye and abide his divine pleasure. In the next
world potentes potenter tormenta patientur. And in this,
if we rightly esteeme the matter, overruling tyrannous
statists goe not free of punishment internally, externally,
as Langius hath most effectually conceivd in the seconde
booke of Lipsius his Constancie. Audi, saith he, Romanum
illum lamentantem. Dij me Deæq; pejus perdant, quæm
perire cottidiè fentio. Audi alterum ingemiscentem. Ergo
ego solus nec amicum habeo nec inimicum? Hæc vera
illa animorum tormenta, Lipsi, hi cruciatus, angi semper,
pænitere, metuere; quibus cave compares eculeos villos,
fidiculas, vncos.—Adde externas pænas. quæ tamen si
desint cum priores illæ irrogentur, quis cælestem justitiam
justè culpet? At non desunt. Nec factum unquam (certè

¹ Philip. 1, ch. p. 1, § 1.

rarò) quin àpertè scelesti et aliorum oppresores, pænas item luerint spectabiles et apertas ; alij citius, alij feriùs : alij in se, alij in suis.—Video Catoni ipsi clavum hic tantum recti judicij non extortum, et elicitam ab alto pectore ambiquam vocem, Res Divinas multum habere caliginis. Sed tamen tu Lipsi, tu Cato, flectile paullum huc oculos : vnu spectus in gratiam vos reducet cum Deo. Cæsarem illum videte, superbum, victorem, opinione suâ et aliorum jam Deum, in senatu, et à senatu imperfectum. nec simplici morte, sed viginti tribus plagis confectum, instar feræ in sanguine suo volantem. Et quid amplius vultis ? in Pompeij curia, superstante Pompeij statua, magnam viictimam Magni manibus parentantem. Ita Brutus in campis Philippicis, pro patria, et cum patria moriens, mihi quoq; miserationi est. sed consolor idem, cùm haut longè video victores illos exercitus, velut ad ejus tumulum, gladiatorio more inter se commissos : et ē ducibus alterum, M. Antoniū, terrâ mariq; victum, inter tres mulierculas, mulierofâ illa manu, ægrè mortem invenientem. Vbi tu es Orientis illa paullò ante dominus ? lanista Romanorum exercituum ? Pompeij et reip. sector ? Eni, in fune cruentis manibus pendes ! en, vivus in monimentum tuum repis ! en ne moriens quidem avelleris ab ea quæ tibi morti ! Vide an vanè vocem supremam et votum illud efflaverit Brutus jam moriens. Ζεῦ μὴ λάθοι σε τῶν δὲ ὅς αὐτίος κακῶν. Non n. latuit profectò, non effugit. non item ille alter Dux, qui pænam juvenilium scelerum non obscurè in se luit, et clariùs in omni sua stirpe. Sit felix et magnus Cæsar, et verè Augustus : sed filiam tamen Julianam habeat, sed neptem.

nepotes alios per fraudem per vim amittat, alios abdicet. et horum tædio, quatriduana inedia mori velit, nec possit. Denique cum Livia sua vivat, fædè ductâ, fædè retenta: et quam turpi amore ipse perijt, turpi morte per eam pereat. In summâ, inquit Plinius, Deus ille hærede hostis sui filio excedat Vigilat semper divinus ille oculus: et cùm dormire eum censes, connivet. It hath seemd good to Lipsius to make Augustus Cæsar a monument of God's revendge on Tyrannie, and I shall thincke it fitt to give one more instance in the same Emperours loose delicious favorite Mecænas. When his Master was once toucht with remorse of vsurpinge on the Roman stately freedomme, and by Agrippa his powerfull remonstrance allmost perfwaded to resigne his Tyrannie, the loose vngirt Epicure Mecænas held him back with flattering gloze of Rhethorique, and for à reward was forð to see and suffer the prostitution of his faire Terentia, tortured with courte buisinesse and diseases could not enjoye life, and yet abhord the thought of death as a paſſidge to greater miserie. Whence Seneca in divers places records thus of him, Ingeniosus vir, &c. &c. &c.¹

For theis reasons and many more, personages of State though they deserve ill, may not be violated mortally out of any man's religion and pietie. Yet that which is historically true, maye not be by a true man conceald. Manie nations haue doctrines to preserve them, manie nations are superstitious in adoration of their persons. Yet in all

¹ Epistola 19, and Seneca Lib. de Providentiâ, cap. 3 and Epist. 101—put together as if one paſſage.

nations and ages, manie of them will st ill miscarrie, if they be not zealous of justice, not extreme justice, but justice with mercie, as it is in the Royal Oath of our English princes, and justice according vnto reason and custome. To such justice long since the ould Hesiod invited the princes of his owne time in this long but most memorable diversion.

Sed nunc fabulum à brutis desumptam Regibus
narrabo quamvis ratione præditis.

Sic accipiter affatus est lusciniam canoram
Altè in nubibus ferens anguis correetam :
Illa vero miserè, &c. &c. &c.¹

To this brief exhortation of Hesiod, I wish princes and great persons, by whose hands justice ought to be administered, would joine in à serious perufall. Many other excellent writings of Civill experienced men, such as are Isocrates that long-livd peace-entertaining Orator, whoe fought the vnitie of the Grecians against the barbarous Asian Tyrant through the whole space of his life. Dion Chrysostome in his *Orationes de regno*, Synesius the Noble Bishop of Cyrene on the same subiect, the good Trajan's excellent Tutor in his treatise *ad principem ineruditum*, and the books of our learned Chancellor Fortescue *De² laudibus legum five Regum Angliae* and *De Reginime politico legali*. The Roman Emperors after Julius Cæsar were

¹ Latin translation of Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, vv. 200-278.

² At first James wrote *in laudibus*, then wrote *de* over the word *in*.

for the moſte parte voluntarie men, ſtudijng rather their owne will and pleasure then any waies and counſells of legall justice; and what varietie of cruell deathes and calamities furprizd them is by Symphorianus Champerius, an auncient learned Frenchman collected to the aſtoniſhment of all readers. Even in the times of Christianitie vnder that ſucceſſion, all things were ſo voluntarie and tumultuous as tis the maïne Apologie of Chryſoftome why ſuch great numbers of monaſtick men retired themſelues from civill affaires into the better and more eaſie conuerſation of deſert woods and wilde beaſtes. And therefore Saint Jerom allſo in his epitaph of Nepotian, cries out Horret animus temporum noſtrorum ruinas perfequis: Their princes ſuffered all manner of vnfortunate deaths, and their Nobles fell often, because they did their owne rapines, their owne ambitions, their owne furies and not the gentle worcks of justice. In thoſe and the good conſcience of them, the good Antoninus bore his owne ſecuritie and reenforced the gard of that, not by revendge, but clemencie. Nām cūm fortē Avidius Crassus faith Crinitus in contemplation of that princelye heroique magnanimitie, alijque complures contra Antoninum Imperatorem conſpiraſſent, ac detecta conjuratio eſſet, parcendum omnibus censuit Antoninus, nec Avidium quidem imperandi avidiſſimum jufſit occidi ſed paſſus eſt. Cūmq; tam egregiam ſingularemq; eius clementiam ac lenitatem plures accuſarent, eundemq; (vt ſunt varia hominum ingenia) paſſim arguerent, quod tam mitis etiam in fuos hoſtes foret: ſimulq; adderent, Aliter ſe res haberet, ſi Avidius viſiſet, graviflīmē reſponſum eſt ab

Imperatore Antonino : Non sic deos colimus, aut vivimus, ut ille nos vinceret. and as Antonius so before him liv'd Trajan, with exemple to all posteritie moste worthye of emulation. So little feare he had of being secretly or openly violated, as he even sufferd those whoe had assailed the Tyrannie of his predecessors to be honoured with statues. So Plinie in his panegyrick, which for this reason and to sett forth most illustriously the causes of that prince's securitie, I will heere in parte defloure — jam non delatores, faith he, sed leges, &c.¹

That theis things were truely spoken of Trajan by his worthye counsellour Plinie, the belief of all posteritie confimes, and tis à wonder vnto Bodin that princes of following times doe not make away themselves, to conceive what glorie, what honour, what immortalitie of renovne, what securitie they loose in not beinge like such a god-like prince.

The brief of all that heerein may be truely spoken by any one is, That if princes and principalities wilbe safe, they must purchase the peoples loue by justice, providence, clemencie, goodnesse. Otherwise extreme justice, injustice, and injurie. Neither can good men easily brooke according

¹ Jam non, etc. from Panegyricus, ch. 36, § 2. Sors et vrna, &c. ch. 36, § 4; Liberalitali, &c. *ibid.* ch. 38, § 4: Vetus, &c. *ibid.* ch. 40, § 4: Feres Cæsar, &c. ch. 41, § 1, § 2: Non jam, &c. *ibid.* ch. 42, § 2: Salva est, &c. *ibid.* ch. 44, § 5: Amas confitiam, &c. ch. 44, § 6: boni proveluntur, &c. *ibid.* ch. 46, § 8: dormus amoris, &c. ch. 49, § 2: Præterea hoc, &c. *ibid.* ch. 52, § 2, § 3, and § 5, and ch. 55, § 6, as if one passage: persta Cæsar, &c. ch. 62, § 9: Nihil amplius, &c. *ibid.* ch. 65, § 1—§ 2: Tibi salus, &c. *ibid.* ch. 67, § 6: Nihil tibi, &c. ch. 72, § 3, § 4.

to Hesiod, and evill men will not, hurried on to mischief by their owne rapine and ambition, for which they will finde out faire colourable pretences. If the first stirre they doe it with sorow, cryinge out, not of will but neceffitie. Qui fita pecora il lupo lo mangia, if we will not be toren to peeces by the wolves, wee must not be altogether sheepish. If the others succeeide in their malice, neighbour people will say with Petrarch, Quo turpior manus eo melior vindicta. Wherfore I saye with Dion Chrysostome; Theis things have binne, and wilbee ever true, etiam si o[mn]es ho[min]es, tam viri quam foeminae, tam Graeci quam Barbari, contrariū affimarint. A larger subiect of discourse à man can hardly vndertake then this concerning the punctualities of governement and obedience, yet I shall not hazard my discretion in sayinge much more; but will end with one onely memoriall, which I may seeme to have forgott in my third reasoun from the exemple of the primitive Xtians. They indeede were altogether men of evangelicall sufferance, but in after ages when governement was changeable, sommetimes in the hands of Xtians, sommetimes againe recovered by the Gentiles, they did not faile on yeither side to doe mutuall violence, which in them bothe is by the Emperour Julian in an epistle of his to the people of Alexandria thus reprehended. Si nihil vos Alexander conditor, ac potius Deus ille magnus sanctissimus Sarapis commovet, attamen patriæ, humanitatis, officij ratio nonne debuit ac potuit commovere? addo etiam nostri: quos cùm Dii omnes tûm verò inprimis magnus Serapis, totius Orbis imperio præfecerunt: quorum intererat de

injuria vobis facta cognoscere. Verum iracundia vos fortasse decepit, et furor qui atrocissima quæc_b solet committere, vbi mentem domicilio exturbavit, deinde repentina impetu elatus nefariū facinus induxit: Neq_b veriti estis, cum plebs effetis, eadem committere quæ in illis merito reprehendebatis.—Ansus est populus ut canes hominem discerpere, neq_b pudore afficitur: neq_b manus puras ac sanguine vacuas servat, ad deo officiendum. At n. dignus erat Georgius qui talia pateretur. Fateor; et qui propter vos pateretur; sed non a vobis. Sunt n. leges, quas observare omnes et colere debebatis: ac si privatim à nonnullis violarentur, publicè quidem rem bene administrari, legibus obtemperari, instituta majorum sancta et sacra haberi conveniebat.



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

VI.

POEMS and Translations, &c.—Page 204, l. 2, ‘relent’—by r. g. but = melt, dissolve: l. 21, ‘table’—qu. = panel? l. 24, ‘ficture’ = clay-work or reliefs (fictor): p. 205, l. 5, ‘Enchiridiall’ = manual: p. 206, l. 3, ‘terriers’ = rolls (Law term): l. 18, ‘Epicure’ = Epicurus: p. 207, l. 18, ‘shend’ = abuse, mar, &c.: p. 210, l. 8, ‘vilde’ = vile, wicked: l. 16, ‘partes a fogg’—as we say, ‘makes two bites of a cherry:’ p. 213, l. 22, ‘bends’—sic—qu. bands or locks (of hair)? p. 214, ‘red-haired man; y^e colour doth not shame,’ &c. See Appendix to Introduction, on James’s own ‘red hair’: p. 215, l. 21, ‘Norrice,’ &c.—all well-known hero-worthies of England: l. 217, ‘restie’ = restive: p. 218, l. 10, ‘wood’ = wud, mad: p. 220, ‘M^r. I. S.’—probably Selden: p. 223, ‘Vntha[n]ghs’ = un-hangs, unties? p. 225, ‘Malepard’ = pard: p. 233, l. 15, ‘japes’ = jests: p. 235, ‘Posidippus

on Humane Life'—Cf. the verse translation by Bacon in Poems of Lord Bacon (Fuller Worthies' Library): p. 240, '*A Funerall*, &c.: l. 7, 'rathē' = early: p. 241, l. 5, 'teeme' = esteem: p. 242, l. 9, 'speake' = speed r.g.

VIII.

Latin Poems, &c.—The following are the only names that seem to require annotation—others are obscure, and probably were friends of James met with abroad. Again I draw upon Mr. Corser, as before:—

I. DR. SEBASTIAN BENFIELD.—Sebastian Benfield was born at Prestbury, in Gloucestershire; admitted scholar of C. C. C. Oxford, 30th of August, 1586, at the age of seventeen, and Probationer Fellow, 16th of April, 1590. He entered into holy orders, and in 1608 became B.D. and D.D., and five years afterwards was elected Margaret Professor of Divinity. This office he held for fourteen years, and on resigning it took the College living of Meysey Hampton, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire; and dying there August 24th, 1630, was buried in the chancel of that church on the 29th. “He was noted as a classic, disputant, and theologift, and so well read in the fathers and schoolmen, that he had scarce his equal in the University.” Wood says that he was morose, and of no good nature; also, that he was accounted no mean lover of the opinions of John Calvin. He published several works, and volumes of sermons.—Wood's “Ath. Oxon.” vol. ii. p. 487.—(*Ibid.* p. lxvii.) His commentary on “Amos” (unfinished) is still a *quick* book. Any adverse opinion ex-

pressed by Anthony a-Wood must always be taken, not with a grain, but a bushel of allowance of salt.

V. EDWARD JAMES.—This was the fourth son of Richard James and Jane Annernon his wife. He was born in 1570, educated at Westminster School, and elected from thence to Christ Church, Oxford, as Student, in 1587, having matriculated December 15th, 1587, as “Hamptonensis pleb. filius.” He proceeded to his degree of B.A. June 9th, 1591, and M.A. May 11th, 1593. And soon after entering into holy orders, on the 8th January, 1604, he was instituted to the rectory of Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, on the presentation of Lord Chancellor Egerton, on the recommendation of Lord Baron Fleming. In 1614 he became Canon of Christ Church, and on the 16th May in that year was admitted to the degree of D.D. along with his brother Thomas. He was also an eminent scholar, and a constant contributor of verses to some of the poetical collections which members of the University were frequently accustomed to produce on occasions of public interest. Amongst others of this kind there are verses of his on “Oxoniensis Academæ Funebre Officium in memoriam honoratissimam serenissimæ et beatissimæ Elizabethæ” (4°. Oxon. 1603). He died in 1616. His will is dated January 26th, 1616, and was proved in the University Court February 4th, 1616, by the executor, Andrew James. Among other bequests he gives “all the goods and chattels at or in his parsonage of Freshwater, to his brother, Andrew James, Gent., who is to pay yearly out of the same £10 unto Richard James of Corpus Christi

College, Oxford, M.A., his nephew." From the present poem it appears that the "stone" was the complaint of which he died. (From Rev. Thomas Corser's Introd. to "*Iter Lancastrense*," pp. xxvi-xxix; whence also the poem is taken after the Bodleian MSS.)

VIII. DR. THOMAS JACKSON.—Dr. Thomas Jackson, a voluminous writer of sermons and other theological works, and deserving, for his great learning and attainments, to be considered one of the English fathers of the Church, was born at Witton, in the county of Durham, in 1579. He was first a student of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1595, but elected a Scholar of C. C. C. in the following year, and Probationer Fellow thereof on the 10th of May, 1606, being then M.A.; at which time, Wood says, that "he had laid the grounds carefully, in arithmetic, grammar, philology, geometry, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, the Oriental languages, history, with an insight in heraldry and hieroglyphics, &c. All which, however, he made use of to serve either as rubbish under the foundation, or as drudges and day-labourers, to theology." In 1622 he proceeded D.D.; and soon after was made Vicar of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and at length elected President of C. C. C. (chiefly through the exertions of Archbishop Laud), Chaplain in ordinary to the King, Prebendary of Winchester, Vicar of Witney, in Oxfordshire, and Dean of Peterborough. Dr. Jackson died September 21st, 1640, in the sixty-first year of his age, and was buried in the chapel of his own College. Of a deep and penetrating judgment, and various and profound learning, none wrote with more

vigour and earnestness, against the Church of Rome, than he did. A complete collection of his works was published in three vols. folio, in 1672-3, with a Life of the Author prefixed. It is to be noted that the occasion of this poem was the reception of a copy of the Bible as a New Year's gift. (From Mr. Corser's Introduction to "Iter Lancastrense," as before, pp. lxvii-viii; after Bodleian MS.)

XI. WRITTEN IN RUSSIA, 1618.—See our Introduction on our Author's travels in Russia. From MS. No. 13.

XII. COMET SEEN IN RUSSIA.—*Ibid.*

XIII. AT MOSCOW.—*Ibid.*

XVIII. DR. JOHN FLEMING.—Mary, eldest daughter of Richard James and Jane Annerton, and sister to Dr. Thomas James, married Sir Thomas Fleming, Knt., of Stoneham, in the county of Southampton, Chief Justice of England, who died in 1613, by whom she had fifteen children, eight of whom survived their father. James's eldest brother, Andrew, also married Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Fleming, of Garcombe,—so that there was a double connection between these two families. Dr. John Fleming appears to have been the fourth son of the Chief Justice, and first cousin, by marriage, to James. (*Ibid.* p. lxix.)

XXI. AD LIBRUM, 1625.—From "Ante-Possevinus, five Concio habita ad Clerum in Acad. Oxon. An. Dom. 1625. Authore Richardo Jamesis Socio C. C. C. Vectenfi. Oxon. 1625" (4^o.) The text is 2 Timothy iv. 13.

XXII. SIR ROBERT COTTON.—From "Epistola Thomæ Mori ad Academiam Oxon: cui adjecta sunt quædam

Poemata in mortem Clarissimi Viri Roberti Cottoni et Thomæ." See our Introduction for James's relations with this renowned antiquary and fine old English gentleman.

XXIII. DE PUTEO SANCTI EDWARDI, &c.—*Ibid.*
"Allen. Oxon. 1633" (4°).

XXIV. THOMAS ALLEN.—*Ibid.* He was born at Uttoxeter in 1542; educated at Trinity College, Oxford; died, 1632. He was distinguished as a mathematician, and still more so as an 'Astrologer' when astrology was believed in. The Earl of Leicester wished to make him a bishop, but he never took orders. He was the friend of Camden, Spelman, Cotton, James, &c. Elias Ashmole edited some of his Works, e.g. 1. *Claudii Ptolemei Pelus. de Astrorum judiciis aut ut vulgo vocant, quadripartitæ constructionis, Liber secundus, cum Expositione Th. Allen Angli-Oxonienfis.* 2. *Ejusdem Lib. Tertius.* See Biogr. Brit. s. n. and Elias Ashmole.

A. B. G.

FINIS.



ERRATA.

DR. GROSART respectfully requests insertion in the volume of James's "Poems, &c.," of this errata-slip, or correction in the places, of these few misprints overlooked by the printer and himself.

List of Subscribers, *read* Samuel R., *not* A., Gardiner.

Preface, page xii, line 29, *read* Falconer, *not* Frederick, Madan.

Introduction, page xliv, line 1, *read* Symonds, *not* Simon.

" *ibid.* line 8, *read* Forster, *not* Foster, and so elsewhere.

" page 1, line 11, *read* Oxoniæ; page lii, line 14, *read* ἀπορριστας.

" page liii, line 2, *read* Romani; line 6, *read* protegentēs.

" page lvi, head-line, *read* lvi for vi; and place ' (reference figure) after 'est.'

The following corrections of the late Mr. Corser's (as before) mis-readings, are offered—his text having unfortunately been given as copy to the printer:—

Introduction, page lvii, line 20, *read* edidit.

" page lviii, line 9, query havere (= avere)?

" page lxvi, line 9, *read* χθνια παράστωντες πόντιον τε οὐδαρ
κείμαν παρὰ διάταν. (Pindar, Olymp. ii. 113-116,
ed. Heyne.)

" page lxvii, line 13, *read* ἐπνίμων and ἄξιλος and
ἴσχατως; line 14, *read* ἀστάτου; line 20, *read*
γέγονος φεύ ἐκένον υμενότερος ὑπέρου; line 22, *read* θήριον;
line 23, ληστα διώκτα, σύβριτος and μυριόκεντρος and τίγρις.

page lxviii, line 28, query—mifertus?

Page 130, line 14, *read* urnā; page 268, note 7, *read* Shelton;
page 274, line 9, *read* alii.

If any others have escaped notice, printer and editor count on charity, in consideration of the difficult MSS., &c. &c., and sympathy with the editor's annoyance. It may be added, that since the issue of the volume, Dr. Grosart has discovered at Port Eliot, among the Sir John Eliot MSS., a holograph copy of the long letter on "Assassination," &c. (so headed), and in Epithalamia Oxoniensia Caroli et Mariæ, 1625, a short Latin poem wherein Chaucer, Occleve, and Spenser are introduced.

